KEEP STRONG

- Tenants To Organize Citywide
- Hard Times Christmas In Uptown

Published by the Intercommunal Survival Committee
VOL.1 NO.6 JANUARY, 1976 25 CENTS

THE CHICAGO TENANTS SQUEEZE

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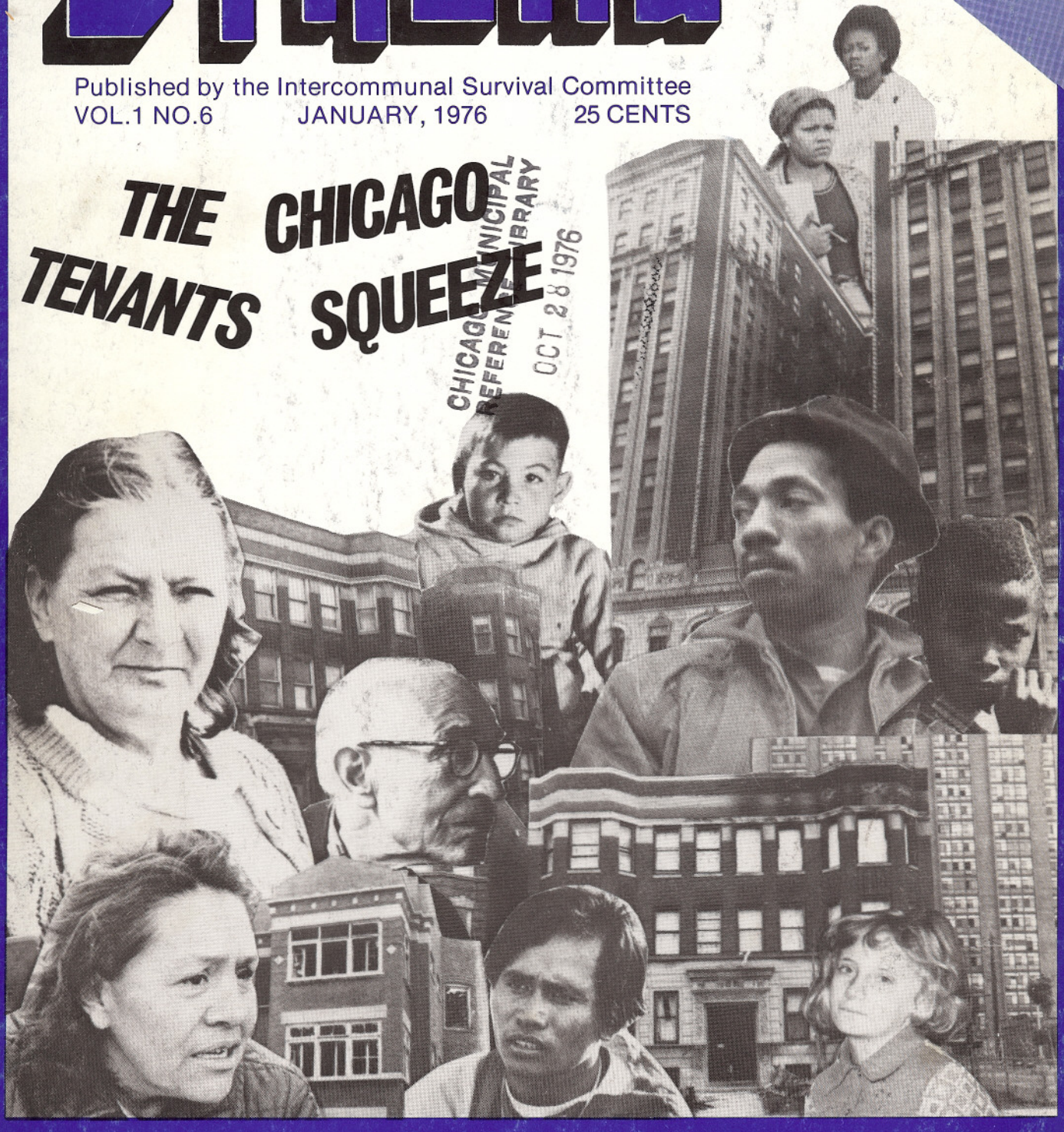

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IN THE
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

IBERIA HAMPTON, Administratrix
etc., et al.,

Plaintiffs,

-vs-

EDWARD V. HANRAHAN, et al.,

Defendants.

No. 70 Cv 1370
consolidated

PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR
DISCOVERY AND DISCLOSURE OF EVIDENCE

Plaintiffs move this honorable Court to change its position regarding the proper ambit of pre-trial discovery and disclosure to plaintiffs of documents and other evidence in this case, now in the possession of the federal government, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the defendants and their attorneys, and the Court.

1. Recent revelations, before committee
States Congress and elsewhere
intelligence"

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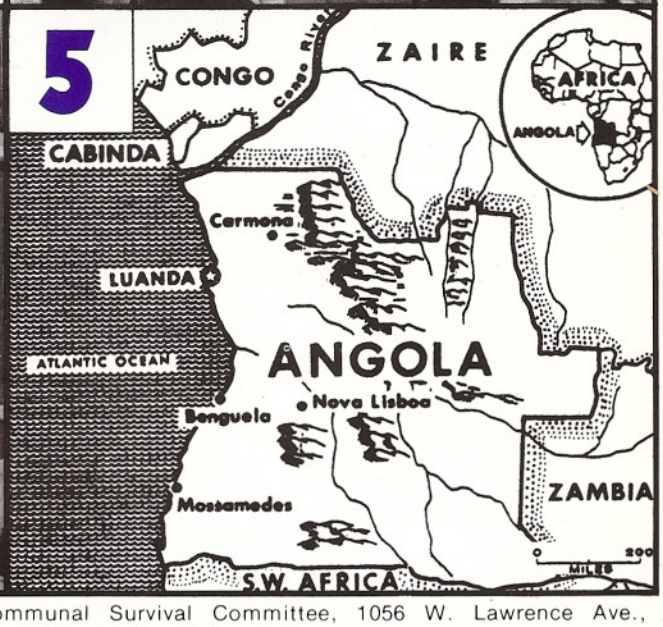

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Keep Strong January, 1976

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EDITORIAL

THE CHICAGO TENANTS SQUEEZE

The housing plan for the city of Chicago is making fools of all of us. Over the last ten years hundreds of thousands of units of low-income housing have been destroyed. In many cases, high rises and middle and upper-income developments have taken their place. While families from many different neighborhoods picked up their belongings and searched for hard to find housing, a city-wide reorganization was taking place. The plans were on paper in city hall, laid out clearly in the 1966 Chicago Comprehensive Plan, the Chicago 21 Plan, the near North Plan, the Woodlawn Plan, the Uptown Plan and all the other neighborhood plans.

It is now common knowledge among those in city planning that certain neighborhoods were marked as "unsalvageable." They were marked for destruction. Others were marked for rehabilitation. But neighborhoods marked to be rehabilitated were to be rehabilitated for middle and upper-income housing, like Lincoln Park or "New Town" as it is now called. Those neighborhoods marked for destruction were to be rebuilt for the same middle and upper-income renters and condominium owners. Nowhere in the city of Chicago housing plans is there a determination to maintain low and moderate-income housing.

The final blow to the poor of this city is now in its final phase: the gradual elimination of public housing. The hundreds of Black people, Latinos and poor whites being driven from public housing is already creating a serious housing crisis, because the last ten years of the destruction of privately owned low-income housing has left no place for those driven from public housing to go.

As the poor, and especially people of color, seek and compete for housing in new and currently all-white neighborhoods, the results are tragically predictable. We will be seen as invaders by families bent on protecting their neighborhoods in economic hard times. There will be conflict. There will be bloodshed. There will be race war again in Chicago.

We cannot believe that the power structure of this city is unaware of the consequences of their actions. The Chicago housing plan, unleashing racism and violence on a massive scale, should be seen for the sinister, inhuman manipulation that it is.

New plans for the construction and rehabilitation of housing for

CITY-WIDE TENANTS' CONFERENCE

Jan. 16-17, 1976
Malcolm X College
1900 W. Van Buren
Chicago, Ill.

FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 16, 1976

7 P.M. – Pre-Conference Forum – Auditorium

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1976

8 A.M. – Registration

10 A.M. – Workshops Begin

1:15 - 2:20 P.M. – Lunch

2:20 - 5:30 P.M. – Workshops, continued

SATURDAY EVENING

7 P.M. – General Session
Workshop Reports

Guest Speaker: Elaine Brown
leading member of the Black Panther Party

Sponsored by the Chicago Housing Tenants Organization, the Young Lords Organization, the Intercommunal Survival Committee and a host of other groups. For more information call 275-4778 or 337-0218.

low-income tenants throughout the city must be made and implemented on a massive scale. All tenants should have freedom to choose what neighborhood they want to live in, and there must be enough housing to meet the needs of* all *tenants.

The lesson is clear. A movement of tenants must be built to prevent the city from carrying out its plans. This has already begun. It remains to be seen if the hundreds of thousands of poor and working whites will join it. Will we implement power to the people or remain pawns in the game? □

ON THE STREET

"WHAT DO YOU THINK THE CITY OF CHICAGO IS DOING ABOUT LOW-INCOME HOUSING?"

Teresa Coonce
811 Eastwood

"Very little.* And I emphasize *very little."

Gloria Bender
1110 W. Balmoral

"To tell you the truth, it's hard to find an apartment. And they don't want to accept people who are not working. And the majority of people are not working. And it's just really hard. You try to do your best. Keep a little money in your pocket, feed your family and what have you. And the rent says 'low-income' but still it's high. People can't afford to pay that much. In fact, they should really come down on the rent because most of the low-income housing doesn't look that perfect. Like $200 for two bedrooms, or something like that...that's really bad."

Patricia Simpson
1217 W. Sunnyside

"Not enough."

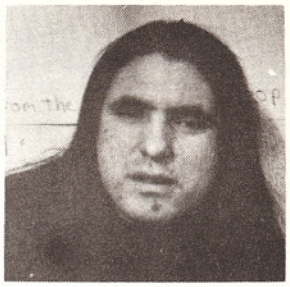
Mildred Bailey
6612 S. Lowe

"I think instead of going down it's going up. There where I live at it's supposed to be low-income and it's $200. Do you call that low-income? It's a long way from it. I lon't think it's low-income anymore."

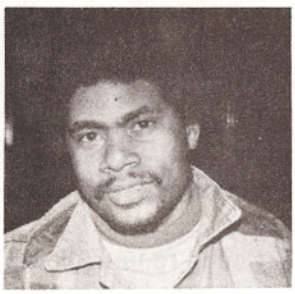
Juanita Johnson
4535 N. Malden

"Some of the rents are high around here for some of the apartments I've seen. I've seen some real dumps for about $180, and I do mean the alley looks better. And then the man says...well, you know, the gas bill, the light bill, this and that. Garbage! If you're going to pay for it, you ought to get what you pay for. These people on welfare can't afford $180 and live in a rat trap with cockroaches and mice. If they better the buildings then it would be worth $180 a month rent. They don't want to better it, they just want to use it until they can't use it no more. Then they get rid of it as garbage."

Kenny Littlefish
4734 N. Kenmore



"What the city should do is update the laws pertaining to housing in general. The city and the people who own the buildings where people live in low-income housing have an obligation to maintain the building in the same standard as if they live there. If they would like to live in those houses then perhaps they should move there."



Robert Smith
Windsor

"I can't see nothing they're doing myself."

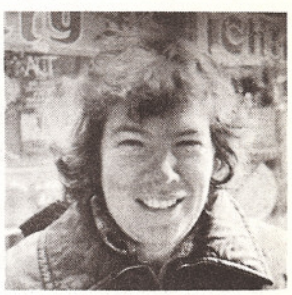
Nancy Olson
4628 N. Kenmore

"They're not doing anything, that's all. They're tearing everything down so poor people have no place to live. Pretty soon we're going to be in the streets. Pretty soon there's not going to be anyplace to live. Everything they're making is for the college down there."

Marsy Garcia
4648 N. Kenmore

"They're not doing too good at it. I work at a convalescent center. It's a house for senior citizens. I don't think they're doing fine...."

John Taylor
4327 N. Kenmore



"They're destroying most any housing we ever had for low-income people. The city hasn't built any new low-income housing probably in the past three to four years. In Uptown we really need it. But they built this silly college and took away a lot of housing. Now there seems to be a movement to get rid of low-income people all over Chicago and scatter them who knows where. I don't think the city has done anything, and I don't think the federal government has done anything. I don't think any government agency is responding to the needs of low-income people. That's how I feel."

Rosita Lane
4550 N. Clarendon

"Well, I think they're doing terrible."

A Thousand Cuts

One sharp thrust of a knife to a vital organ can end your life dramatically. Less dramatic is the method used by public aid: a thousand small cuts leaves you bleeding to death. The Department of Public Aid has found at least a thousand ways to cut down the welfare rolls through bureaucracy and small technicalities. This relieves Governor Walker of the politically dangerous job of just cutting welfare monies across the board.

On January 1, 1975, the Department of Public Aid issued a new policy for budgeting heating fuel in apartments where utilities are furnished. They based their new budgeting system on Manual Topic PO 610.1 which states: *The allowance for heating is allowed for eight* (8) *months from October 1 to May 31.* Previous to this, the department had budgeted heat the same for each month when an apartment had utilities furnished. The new system required that the heat allotment for 8 months be spread over a 12 month period. Whereas before, one person was allowed $125.00 for rent, under the new system they would be allowed only $122.95 each month for rent. All of this took place during the great, so-called "energy crisis" and applied to recipients of general assistance and disability.

In the Uptown District Office, caseworkers

Julia Januchowski

Jose Arrom

ignored the policy and continued to budget using the old system because they realized it meant a cut to every person who lived in apartments where heat was included in the rent. Then in November, the State Quality Control Board stepped in and started doing the workers budgets for them. They started sending out notices that checks were going to be reduced.

Julia Januchowski received one such notice. Her check was to be reduced by $2.05. As soon as she got the letter she rushed over to the 46th Ward Community Service Center. She was very concerned about the community and realized the letter she had in her hand was much more important than the $2.05 they were taking out of her check. She called the welfare office right away and found that everyone was going to get a cut. She sent in a appeal. Service Center workers talked to her caseworker, Jose Arrom. He is a disability worker and strongly disliked the fact that all of his cases who lived in apartments where metered gas heat is furnished would be getting a cut. Many of these people are bed-ridden or in wheel chairs and can't get around to fight such a problem. He searched through the state statutes to see if it was possible to deal with the problem at the appeal stage and not have to take the state to court. He went to Julia's appeal to offer what assistance he could. At the appeal hearing it was ruled that an appeal cannot argue the illegality of the manual itself, but can only be concerned with determining whether or not the department has carried out its own guidelines. The only way this problem can be solved is through a class action suit. Therefore any person who has received such a notice should contact the 46th Ward Community Service Center. Meanwhile, recipients continue to bleed from a thousand cuts like this one.□

UNEMPLOYMENT

Struggling to Survive

As the establishment press and power structure increasingly accept unemployment for 1 out of every 10 people, there are some who continue to slander poor people as "lazy bums who would rather lie around and collect welfare checks than work." But, when someone does everything in his or her power to work and stay off welfare, it very often becomes even harder to survive because of the unemployment situation.

James Gilbert lives at 4122 N. Kenmore, with his wife Ruth and their four year old daughter, Sissy. In February, 1975, sick of the endless hassles, he got off welfare. They would make him pay carfare, that he couldn't afford, to go to the welfare office, in order to be sent out on wild goose chases after jobs that didn't exist. He and his wife wanted to adopt a baby whose mother had specifically asked them to do so, and he wanted to prove to the state that he could provide for her. That meant finding a job and moving into the best possible housing. They had done a heroic job of supporting that baby without one extra penny from welfare but the state had taken her away.

After much effort he got a job with the Chicago Stadium Company — 1800 W. Madison, doing farm labor in Mundelein. He was paid $2.70 an hour and worked 60 hours a week so that he could take home $136 a week or $544 a month. They went ahead with their plan to move into the best possible apartment, which cost them $225 a month, leaving them about $320 a month. Without a green card or food stamps it was impossible to save anything during the nine months he worked.

One day before Thanksgiving, James was laid off. It took from Thanksgiving to December 20th for him to get one unemployment check for $68. As soon as he got that check he paid $35 for a week's rent in the more typical Uptown building that they had moved into since he had been laid off. The other $33 went for a few groceries. He doesn't know if he will receive his next check on time or when he will receive a check for the time he had to wait.

Not having any spare money, the Gilberts are worried about falling behind in their rent. In addition, they are now two payments behind in their life insurance which they are in danger of losing. Mrs. Gilbert has several medical problems and no money to pay doctors. Neither her nor her daughter's winter clothing needs have been met.

In order to get food stamps, which they need very badly, Mr. Gilbert must first get a copy of his birth certificate from Frankfort, Kentucky. It could be weeks before he is able to fullfill this bureaucratic requirement. They must also get a social security card for their four year old daughter.

Assuming that they make it through this period, what will be their situation when they finally get $136 every two weeks and some food stamps? They will pay $70 every two weeks for rent. To buy the barest minimum of groceries (no meat and little milk) will take $90 every two weeks. In other words, they will have nothing left for clothing or medical care.□

Gilbert Family

ON THE JOB

Night Shift in the Suburbs

KEEP STRONG recently interviewed a worker employed as a drill press operator at Marsh Instruments, a division of the Signal Corporation, located at 3501 W. Howard in Skokie. The workers in the shop are about 50% Black, 15% Latino and 35% white. The union there is Local 31 of the Steelworkers. The worker interviewed is a white sister from Kentucky, who lives in Uptown.

She worked the night shift where workers had many grievances. They were always given the "rush jobs" which put a lot of pressure on them to speed up. Worse yet, they were always given "scrap" jobs where the piece rate is set so high that it was impossible to make any kind of bonus. The workers depend on a bonus to make decent money. She recalls that almost every night she was stuck with burring four holes. The rate was set at 1,000 per hour although no one could possibly do more than 750 per hour. For that reason workers on the night shift could not make more than about $3.33 an hour.

Asked about taking these grievances to the union, the sister interviewed by *KEEP STRONG* described the union in vivid terms. "It does so little to help the workers and so much to help the company that most of the people were starting to feel that they'd be better off with no union at all. The president of the local is a man named Chester Kulatta. He has been president for 10 years, and nobody I talked to in the plant can remember ever voting for him or for the vice president. Every time someone brings him a grievance or a suggestion for the contract he beats around the bush and says, "Well, the company just won't accept it."

The last contract was signed in October, 1974. Demands from the shop relating to piece rates and a cost of living increase were ignored. No one got to see a copy of the contract before or after it was signed, and one of Kulatta's old cronies had an acceptance speech prepared before there was any discussion of it.

Although the majority of the workers at the plant are from Chicago, and mostly from the southside, most of the meetings are held up in Niles at the Bunker Hill Country Club. Most of the workers from the city do not make the meetings because they are held so far away. The sister pointed out that "when the union gets done messing you around, about the only reason left for paying dues is the Christmas Party." But the Christmas Party is also held at the Country Club in Niles. It seems that a friend of a downtown union bureaucrat named Bruno owns the Bunker

Marsh Instruments: although the majority of the workers from the plant are from Chicago, most of the union meetings are held in the suburbs.

Hill Country Club, and the union business brings in a little extra money.

Over the summer, the workers on the night shift were all demanding their own shop steward. They had never had one before. The foreman, who had once been vice president of the union, asked her to run. She replied, "I don't know enough about unions." The foreman answered, "I'll teach you all you need to know." The sister told him, "In other words, the union will be able to do whatever it wants as long as the company says it's all right." He laughed and said, "Something like that."

The Uptown worker correctly analyzed the foreman's plan to create a "divide and conquer situation" — a "hillbilly" woman to be a company controlled shop steward, helping him keep down a work force that was 50% Black. She organized a meeting in the cafeteria. Declining to be shop steward, she urged the workers to vote for a Black brother named Perry Freeman who she knew was sincere and knowledgeable.

When the foreman came around to tell them they weren't allowed to meet on company time, the night shift workers unanimously notified him that their choice for shop steward was brother Freeman. Black, Latino and white all spoke as one.

The fight at Marsh Instruments is continuing as it took two months for the workers to force the union president to recognize Freeman, calling him a "boy with a bad temper." The sister from Uptown was injured on the job due to negligence on the company's part and is fighting for compensation, but she feels a first step was made.□

TENANTS' RIGHTS

Who Benefits From Major Building Repairs?

The Department of Buildings of the city of Chicago employs 800 people at an annual cost of $11.5 million. Its chief responsibility is to insure that buildings (residential and commercial) are maintained in compliance with the minimal city code for health and safety.

Lloyd Parker and his family and the other 15 families in the building at 852 W. Agatite have been living in substandard conditions for over a year and a half. They have spoken to the landlord on numerous occasions, withheld the rent, and gone to legal aid for help. Finally in desperation they called the building department and asked for an inspector to be sent out. They were told that an inspection had been done recently and that a compliance board hearing was coming up. At this hearing the owner would have to explain to the people from the building department why the building was in such bad shape and what his plans were to fix it up. They were also told that tenants could come to the hearing if they wanted.

In order to be prepared for the hearing, Lloyd thought he would take a look at the inspection records in the building department. When he went downtown and asked for them, he was informed that he could not look at them because they were not his business. He went home. Two days later, Lloyd and some other tenants showed up at the department promptly at 2 p.m. for the hearing. They waited until 4:45 p.m. for the hearing to start. The landlord was nowhere in sight. When the tenants asked the building inspector what he was going to do about the fact that the landlord did not show, the inspector answered that there was nothing that he could do, and that they should go to court when the building comes up in 3 or 4 months.

Basically there are two reasons why people would call the building department. An individual tenant who is trying unsuccessfully to force his landlord to make repairs often calls the department to get an inspector to come out. A community group that is interested in keeping the neighborhood up will call the department to try to force a property owner to maintain his building. What follows the call to the building department is a lot of noise, a little action and a whole lot of waiting — waiting for the inspector to come out, waiting for the first compliance hearing, waiting for the matter to become a court case in building court, and waiting for the landlord to take some positive action. The waiting can go on for weeks, months and years depending on how big the problem is. While waiting for things to happen, the buildings and neighborhoods continue to deteriorate, and the amount of low-income housing available for large families steadily decreases.

This is precisely the situation on Agatite; the people have gotten together and are willing to do what is necessary to get the building in shape. Now they find themselves waiting for something

Lloyd Parker and his family.

to happen and all the time things are getting worse in the building.

The reason that this process takes so long is that the building department is not in any way geared to preserve low-income housing. The only thing it is geared to preserve is the bank accounts of the contractors, union bosses, building material suppliers, and demolition companies, etc. who in turn fill the bank account of the democratic party at election time. The main job of the building department is to make sure that money is continually being spent on major building repairs. This is the top priority. When people from oppressed communities, like Lloyd Parker and the other tenants at 852 W. Agatite, attempt to use the building department as their ally in the fight for decent housing, they must keep this reality in mind. The families on Agatite are going ahead in their fight. They will probably use a variety of tactics until the landlord signs a written agreement to make repairs.

From their struggle for decent housing so far there are a few things we have learned:

1. Use the building department as a last resort to settle problems with your landlord.

2. If you call in a complaint find out the name of the inspector, the day and time he is coming.

3. Go through the inspection with him when he comes.

4. Arrange to meet with the supervisor for your area after the inspection to get an early date for the compliance board hearing.

5. Remember, no city agency will do our fighting for us. The building department is only one weapon we have in our struggle for decent housing.□

LEGAL RIGHTS

Bond Forfeiture Warrants

When Raymond Brown of 4126½ N. Sheridan Rd. was charged with robbery, he didn't worry much about it. He knew that he hadn't robbed anyone and that the charge probably grew out of an argument that he had had with a former friend over a stereo. He turned himself into the police when he found that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. When the first court date came, he appeared in court, but the state's attorney asked for a 6 week continuance. By the time the next court date rolled around, Raymond had forgotten about the entire matter. So, when the judge called his name, and he was not there to respond, his bond was forfeited to the city, and a new warrant was issued for his arrest. Ray got a note in the mail from the 19th district asking him to turn himself in again and put up a new bond or face being arrested again. Suddenly, he got very scared and really didn't know which way to turn. He considered leaving town, hiding for awhile, and a number of other things. He stopped by the 46th Ward Community Service Center and spoke to an attorney.

The attorney informed him that he wasn't in as much trouble as he thought he was. He had 30 days from the issuance of the new warrant to go back to court. A simple motion could be made before the judge asking him to quash (throw out) the new warrant and re-instate the old bond. If he didn't do this within 30 days, the new warrant would stand, and he would have to put up more money to stay out of jail. Every year, thousands of people miss their court appearances and have their bonds revoked. Not knowing what to do, or what the procedure is, they fail to act quickly. The city makes millions of dollars like this, and people end up in jail for long periods of time waiting for court.□

POLICE WATCH

Chicago Police Switch to Dum-Dum Bullets

Superintendent Rochford of the Chicago Police Department has announced the department's plans to change to more deadly handgun ammunition. Its interest is in the hollow-point bullet which is commonly referred to as a "dum-dum."

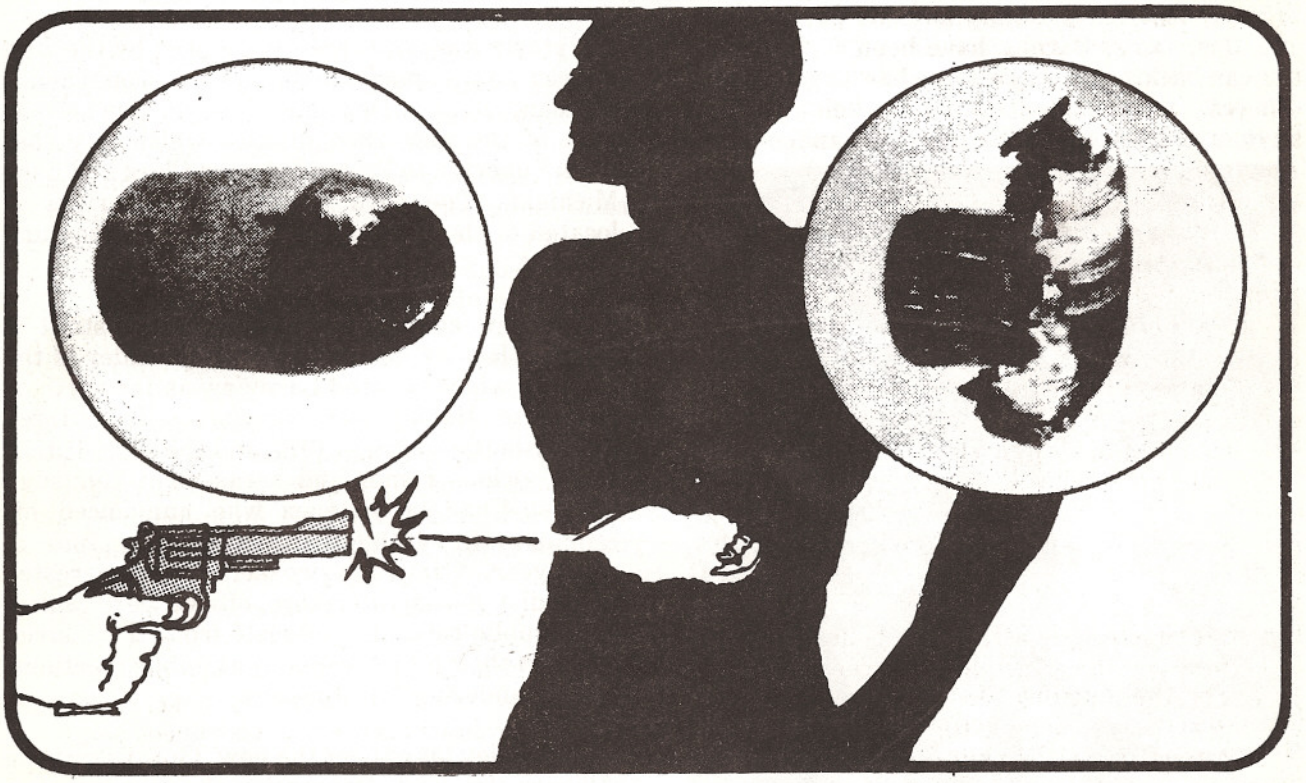
The use of deadlier ammunition means that unless the department changes its rules about when an officer may use deadly force, the Chicago Police Department will probably be killing more than the 33 civilians it shot and killed in 1974.

The Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) points out, however, that the issue isn't over what type of ammunition the police use but rather over the use of deadly force. "The kind of ammunition used by police is a spurious issue," says David Goldberger, Illinois ACLU legal director. "The issue is when is it permissable for a police officer to use his firearm? Illinois law permits such use by a peace officer to prevent death or great bodily harm to himself or another person.

"But it also permits deadly force in order to arrest someone who might escape, having committed a forcible felony." (Forcible felony can be anything from punching a policeman in the nose on up to treason.) "With the changeover to hollow-point ammunition, there is no question that many more citizens who might just have been legally wounded will be legally killed," Goldberger stated.

For years police have complained that they were underarmed, that the standard police bullet, a .38 caliber lead round nose (LRN), was inadequate. However, for years, more civilians have been killed by police than vice versa. This new changeover in ammunition is a step taken by police to make sure that they keep the upper hand as far as their capacity to murder civilians.□

Reprinted from The Black Panther



1 Hollow-point bullet as it leaves gun.

2 Bullet flattens out as it enters body.

3 Bullet cuts temporary inch-wide path and lodges in body.

Legal Robbery

On the evening of November 7, 1975, Daniel Barnes was sitting in his car in front of his friend's house about 2000 W. Wellington. Officers Dworek and Burzinski from the 19th district stopped their patrol car and asked Danny what he was doing. He replied. They told him that they didn't think the car was really his. He offered to show them that he had the title. When he went into his friend's house to get the title, the police illegally followed him. While Daniel produced the title and handed it to one of the officers, the other policeman dropped a small clear plastic bag containing what appeared to be marijuana next to him.

The police then tried to put Danny under arrest for possession of marijuana. Confused and afraid, Danny ran. The police could not catch him. They seized his car and kept the title. A warrant was issued for Danny's arrest and bond was set at $250. A friend who called the police was told that the car would be released when Danny turned himself in. Two weeks later Danny, accompanied by his parents, turned himself in at the 19th district station.

Since that time, Danny and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Barnes, have been trying to get the car back. They have talked to the arresting officers, who said it wasn't their problem anymore. They talked to the commander of the police pound, where the car is kept, who said they have to get a release from the arresting officers. They talked to the assistant state's attorney in charge of impounded cars who said they have to wait for the judge to release the car.

The Barnes family — victims of legal robbery.

James Barnes hangs fences for a living. He makes a few dollars and works very hard in order to feed his family of seven. Danny worked for over a year to save enough money to buy a car. The Barnes worked and scrimped and saved all year long so they could give their children a nice Christmas.

There is a standard towing fee of $35 every time the police take your car. The police charge is $2 per day as a storage fee for every day they hold your car. Every day the mumbo-jumbo continues, the Barnes family loses another $2 from their Christmas savings. By the time the car finally is returned it will cost over $400, including the bond for the bogus drug charge, 10% of which the city automatically keeps.□

Uptown Gets New Police District

Uptown was until recently covered by the 20th district police under the direction of Commander Kernan, but as of December Uptown has become part of the new 23rd district which stretches from Fullerton to Foster between Clark and Lake Michigan. The 23rd district headquarters is located at the "Town Hall" station, Addison and Halsted.

The new commander of the 23rd district is Thomas Hanley, formerly the commander of the old 19th which covered Lakeview as far north as Montrose. Hanley was transferred from Intelligence in the spring of 1974, and the 19th district ran a vicious rumor and harassment campaign against Cha-Cha Jimenez who announced his candidacy for 46th ward alderman in June of that year. Campaign workers were arrested while distributing literature, offices were raided, and "public relations" officials from the district spoke in their official capacity at public meetings, often slandering Mr. Jimenez.

As Hanley takes over the new 23rd district the Alliance to End Repression has revealed a document from police files bearing his name. The document was obtained through subpoenas in court suits against police spying. It seems that

Hanley, before being assigned to Lakeview and Uptown, was chief of the police spying unit. The document released by the Alliance reveals an order signed by him directing the "subversive unit" to "neutralize" community groups whose aims are detrimental to the safety and security of the city by infiltrating them or otherwise causing them to deteriorate or change their direction. A group of progressive lawyers, the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, has specifically been named as one group that was a target of Hanley's "neutralization" campaign.□

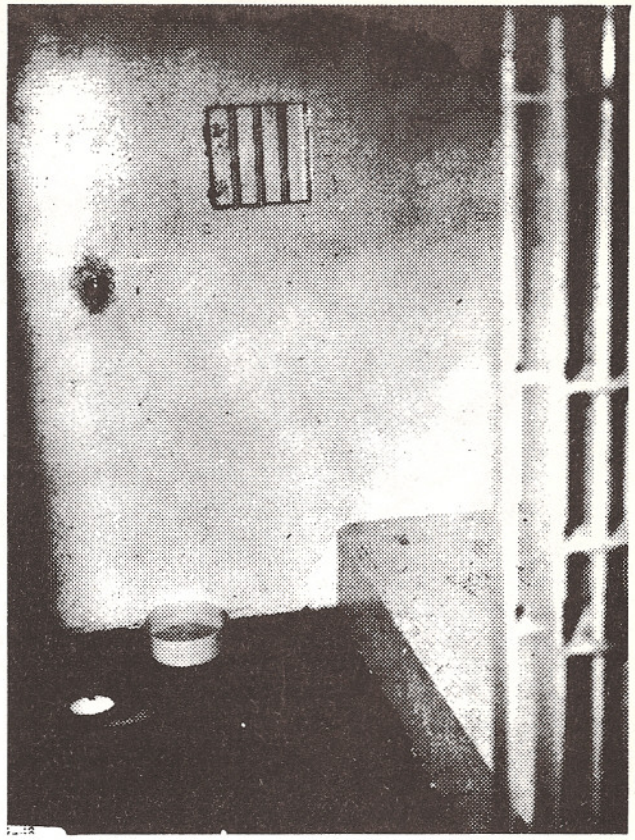
CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Suspicious Death at Stateville

The Citizens Visiting Committee sponsored by the Illinois Prisons and Jails Project which has negotiated to visit state prisons in Illinois, observe and speak with residents with the intent of making recommendations to the administration, has expressed concern over the suspicious and unnecessary death of Larry Jones, age 19. During a visit to Stateville on December 5th, the citizens committee reports receiving descriptions from several inmates of the brutal beating by guards the night before of Larry Jones an allegedly mentally unstable inmate. Inmates claim that guards had Larry on the ground, kicked him fiercely and used unnecessary violence to restrain him.

During the visit several people from the committee, who attempted to talk to Larry himself about the incident, found him lying naked on the cement floor of a strip cell. He did not respond to questions. The psychiatrist in charge of the Detention Hospital, where Larry Jones was housed, told committee members that Larry was responding well to drugs. Four days later, Larry Jones was dead.

Official reports from the prison administration first cited the cause of death as "unknown causes." Larry's body was taken to a funeral home where he was embalmed without his family's consent. The family has demanded an inquest. According to family reports, Larry Jones had no record of mental instability before going to Cook County Jail for seven months. He



Strip cell.

was at Stateville finishing the rest of a one year sentence. They would like to know what happened to him at County Jail. What did authorities do to insure he received proper medical treatment by both medical and prison personnel assigned to the Detention Hospital? Did the County make any recommendations when he was transferred to Stateville? What was the real cause of death and why the apparent attempt to cover-up?□

FIGHTING CITY HALL

Black Cop Leader Arrested Again

The December 7 arrest here of Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL) President Howard Saffold — his second arrest in two weeks — has been described as one more example of "wounded white pride rampant in the police department" by Renault Robinson, AAPL executive director.

Chicago Afro-American Patrolmen's League leaders HOWARD SAFFOLD (left, seated), president; RENAULT ROBINSON (right, seated), director; and Board members (left to right) LONGWOOD CRAWFORD, CHARLES SIAS and HOWARD RIGBY.

Saffold was ordered arrested on state and city disorderly conduct charges by Wentworth District Watch Commander Lt. William Lacey, when Saffold and several other AAPL members were circulating AAPL meeting notices in the station squad room.

Lacey claimed that Saffold and the other AAPL members were creating a disturbance when they returned to the squad room after having been ordered into Lacey's office after allegedly attempting to photograph a report of the November 21 arrest involving Saffold that was posted on a bulletin board.

At a press conference called following the December 7 incident, Robinson, one of the founders of the progressive Black police officers' association, charged that of the 25 recognized police associations and groups in Chicago, the AAPL is the only one that is "continually harassed" by police command-level officials.

Saffold and AAPL members Edgar Gosa and Ocie Brown were arrested on November 21 by two white officers — notorious for their brutality in the Black community — when the three were on their way to a district police station to recruit Black policemen for the AAPL. Although the three were allegedly arrested on a speeding violation, Officers Molloy and Domanski, along with 15 other officers called to the scene, approached them with guns drawn and shouted racial insults at them. Charges in that arrest are still pending.

The Chicago Police Department's stepped up harassment of the AAPL is clearly linked to the organization's active campaign to eliminate brutality by white police officers in the Black community. The League has also recently been conducting an extensive membership drive throughout Chicago.

The League's Police Brutality Complaint Program and Legal Referral Services was started three years ago as the result of numerous calls to the League from the Black community reporting improper police actions by white officers. A recent AAPL memorandum states that "between January and August of this year, 855 Black citizen complaints were brought against the Chicago Police Department, the most frequent charge being 'police abuse.' "

In July, 1968, when the formation of the AAPL was first made public, the organization released the following statement (in part):

". . . We are going to elevate the Black policeman in the Black community to the same image — status enjoyed by the white community; that is, a protector of the citizenry and not a brutal oppressor. We find it impossible to operate within the framework of existing police associations . . .

"We will no longer permit ourselves to be relegated to the role of brutal pawns in a chess game affecting the communities in which we serve. We are husbands, fathers, brothers, neighbors and members of the Black community . . . "□

Reprinted from The Black Panther

Chicago Banks Help City Avoid Discrimination Issue

Following refusal one month ago by U.S. District Judge Prentice Marshall to lift his freeze on Chicago's revenue sharing money because the city has not complied with his orders to end racial discrimination in the police department, *The Chicago Defender* reported two Chicago banks have pledged to loan the city $55 million.

The banks involved are Continental and First National, two of Chicago's largest. Spokesmen

for the banks have denied taking a position on the lawsuit. "We see nothing wrong in lending the city money so it can pay its bills. Whether the city is guilty of discrimination is something for the courts to decide."

Renault Robinson, director of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, blasted the loan agreement and pointed out that the transfusion of bank money considerably eases pressure on the mayor to comply with the federal court order.

It has been speculated that rather than bow to the court the mayor would prefer to forget about the federal money altogether. The mayor recently announced his intention of "an additional real estate tax levy" to make up for the loss if Marshall holds the funds indefinitely.

"The mayor is going to penalize the whole city by raising property taxes because he refuses to give the court minimum assurances he is ending police discrimination. He won't even admit the city was ever guilty," accused Robinson.□

EDUCATION

Hazel-Wilson Middle School

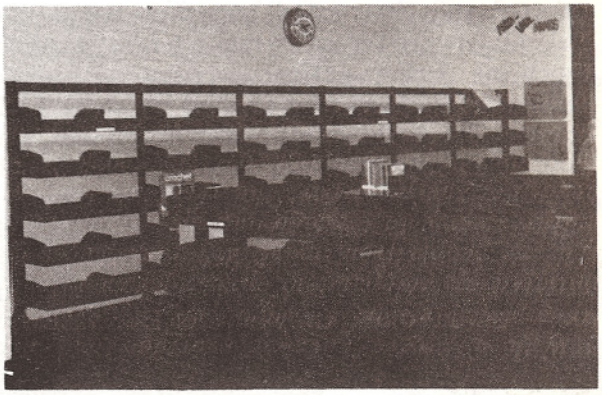
The Hazel-Wilson Middle School seems to prove, at first glance,, that the educational system in Chicago can work. The many fine features of the brand new facility are a direct response to several years of community participation, features such as an olympic-sized swimming pool, an up-to-date shop for the students and a shop downstairs for community use. The potential to bring parents into the use of the school and therefore bring the community into cooperation and participation with the school is built into the facility. The school itself is spacious, clean and exciting. Finally the principal, Nathan Lofton, who was chosen with the cooperation of the advisory council, is a truly dedicated educator who commands the respect and admiration of most of the young brothers and sisters who attend the school.

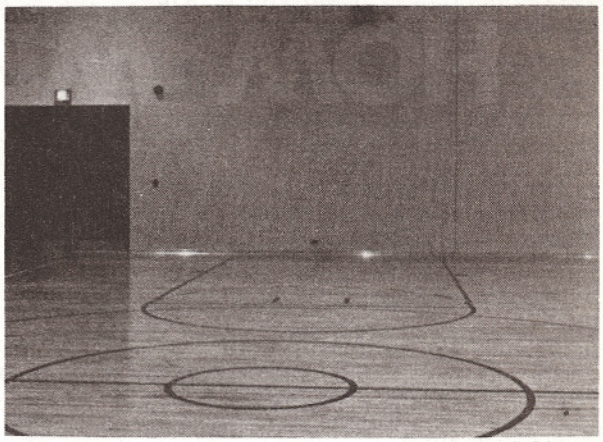
There are problems that come over from the community — conflict between youth groups, drugs, glue sniffing — but with close cooperation between the leadership of the school and community groups these problems can be solved. There are, however, some problems that may not be able to be solved.

The new swimming pool cannot be used because there are no bathing caps and no locked doors going to the girls' locker room. The basketball court — with a beautiful hardwood floor — cannot be utilized fully because there are no baskets and no basketballs. There is a shortage of books and the fine new library facility has no books in it. Expensive audio-visual equipment sits useless because this or that part has not been provided by the Board of Education.

Most important of all, the school has already reached its 900 quota, but only two of the three grades are filled. Next year there will be another grade added, and the school will be subject to the same overcrowding that other schools are subject to now.

The dedication and concern of the principal and the community is in direct contradiction to the bureaucratic insensitivity of the Board of Education. Without strong community pressure, Hazel-Wilson will go the way of the rest of the schools in this city and provide nothing more than space for wasted time.□





No books and No baskets.

HEALTH NEWS

Economic Situation Creates Serious Health Problems

In the 1960's grass roots community groups throughout Chicago, led by the Black Panther Party, established a network of free health centers across the city. They were staffed by concerned medical workers and volunteer community residents trained by the centers. Not only was free care provided, but community medical education and door to door screening for illness — preventive medical care — were a hallmark of these centers. In addition, grass roots groups fought for community accountability from hospitals and city clinics, including a basic bill of rights for patients.

Mayor Daley led the city's response by attacking and harassing the clinics for over two years. Special legislation to close them down was passed and then ruled unconstitutional. Some hospitals were forced to make a few concessions such as hiring patient advocates, providing bilingual workers, and abiding by some patient rights. The goals of this health movement, which the city and hospital administrators called everything from "ridiculous" to "radical rubbish," are now the goals of parts of the medical establishment. For example, Georgetown University has a fast growing program widely imitated in medical schools across the country to train community people in basic medical skills. The State of Minnesota has passed a law establishing a Patient Bill of Rights. But health conditions, especially in poor communities, continue to grow worse in these economic hard times. And medical costs are even higher, making medicine the second most profitable industry in the U.S.

In Chicago, almost 26 out of every 1,000 babies born alive here die before they are one year old. The city has the second highest infant mortality rate in the nation, according to a report recently released by the Council for Community Services. Twice as many Black infants die as whites; and overall, poor babies face the worst prospects. There are fewer infant deaths in many so-called "underdeveloped" countries than in parts of Chicago. In richer sections of the city, the death rate for new babies is as low as 6.3 per 1,000.

Research results show that the bad economic situation is creating serious health problems; a 15% to 25% increase in heart attacks is predicted.

The same study also showed higher rates of tuberculosis in poor communities. Yet tuberculosis is a disease that modern medicine *can* control quite well if the will to do it is there.

Many hospitals in the city are sharply cutting back services to patients on welfare, to senior citizens on Medicaid, and to sick people not on welfare who receive MANG (medical aid - no grant). Illinois Masonic Hospital recently announced such cutbacks including transferring these patients to other hospitals "once their condition stabilizes," according to Gerald W. Mungerson, executive director of Illinois Masonic.

The recent annual meeting of the American Public Health Association held in Chicago announced research results which showed that the bad economic situation is creating serious health problems. The ongoing depression will cause 15% to 25% increases in heart attack deaths in the next three years. Infant deaths will rise 15% to 100%, the researchers reported. Other serious illnesses will also increase dramatically.

Dr. M. Harvey Brenner reported that death and disease are increasing most in those communities suffering the hardest from economic conditions. "The trend is true. It's measurable, and it's predictable," the doctor concluded. It seems that grass roots community efforts for preventive medicine and accountability from hospitals is needed more urgently than ever.□

Chicago's History: Race Riot 1919

On July 29, 1919, Eugene Harris and a group of his friends were swimming in Lake Michigan, just off the 25th St. beach (at that time the city's only Black beach). They happened to drift too far south into the area around the "for whites only" 29th St. beach. Eugene Harris was struck in the head by a rock thrown by a white racist and was drowned. Officer Callahan, the Chicago police officer who was on 29th St. beach failed to arrest the man who killed Eugene Harris, even at the insistence of an angry Black crowd and a Black cop all of whom had come over from 25th St. These two events triggered the Chicago Race Riot of 1919. Before it finally ended five days later, seven Blacks had been killed by police, 16 Blacks were killed by white mobs, 15 whites had been killed by snipers during many of their raids into the Black community, and over 500 people had been injured.

Racial violence of this kind was not unusual during this period of American history. Often called race riots they were, more accurately, attacks by white mobs upon the Black community, and the Black community's militant self-defense in return. In the South lynchings and burning of Black people were occurring in startling proportions. In 1919 alone, over 78 Black people were lynched. In 1917, in East St. Louis, Illinois, 40 Black people were ruthlessly slaughtered by white mobs in collaboration with the police and the state militia which had been called in to put down the "disturbance." Major riots also occurred in Charleston, South Carolina, Omaha, Nebraska, and Long View, Texas.

During the years of 1914 to 1918, the years of World War I, hundreds of thousands of Black people were driven out of their homes in the South and settled in the industrial cities of the North. Not only had the boll weevil destroyed much of the cotton crop in the South and therefore most of the jobs, but the war had created a great demand for labor in the North. Also the North offered education and a chance to escape the brutality of the caste system in the South.

Once the war ended many problems developed. With the return of the troops from Europe and no longer the need for the immense war time

"Often called race riots, they were more accurately attacks by white mobs upon the Black community."

"All of these factors — high unemployment, a shortage of housing, the organization of white racist gangs, political conflict — eventually led to a full-scaled white attack upon the Black community...Similar conditions exist today."

industry, unemployment rose rapidly.

Housing was perhaps the most pressing problem, especially when it was complicated by the practices of racial segregation and discrimination. In Chicago although the Black population had almost doubled in the years between 1914 and 1918 the actual geographic area in which Black people were allowed to live had remained about the same. The so-called "black belt" stretched from 12th St. to 51st St. and from Cottage Grove to Wentworth. Conditions in this community grew steadily worse, with overcrowding, run down buildings which landlords refused to fix up because of the ease with which they could rent them, etc.

The housing shortage grew steadily worse with the return of the troops from the war, many of whom had decided to stay in Chicago rather than go back to their homes in the South. The only place where people could find housing was in all-white neighborhoods surrounding the black belt. When Blacks began to move into these neighborhoods they met with great hostility and violence. Property owners formed associations to keep any one from renting to Blacks, and those who did were bombed and/or beaten. The local political machine organized and supported gangs of white youth called athletic clubs to keep Blacks out. Some of these were the Kragen Colts, the Hamburgers (which included Richard J. Daley), the Alywards, etc. . . . These groups were responsible for much of the violence both before and during the Race Riot of 1919.

Intense competition for jobs had also developed in the years immediately following the war. In Chicago much of this was centered in the stockyards. At this time the unions were just beginning to gain some power in industry. Yet since most unions excluded Black workers from their membership, the Black workers had no respect for the union. Violence often occurred when white union workers were confronted with Black strike breakers.

Another factor causing great conflict and resentment by whites was the increasing political strength and unity of the growing Black community. In the election of 1918, it was primarily the strength of the Black community behind the Republicans which prevented the Irish Democrats from electing a mayor in Chicago.

All of these factors — high unemployment, a shortage of housing, the organization of white racist gangs, political conflict — eventually led to a full-scaled white attack upon the Black community, Black self-defense because police were unwilling to stop these attacks, and finally a full-scale race war.

Similar conditions exist today. A frustrated white community unable to see the need for unity and to identify as a problem their inability to fight along with the Black community for decent housing and jobs, aggravates these conditions and sets the stage for racial conflict today like the Race Riot of 1919.□

TENANTS ORGANIZE CITY-WIDE

FIRST CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN JANUARY

As enthusiasm was building rapidly for the city-wide tenants' conference this month, *KEEP STRONG* talked extensively with conference organizers about their goals and objectives. While they were enthusiastic about the outcome of the conference, their appraisal of the crisis in low-income housing in Chicago was grim and deadly serious. One of the organizers said, "We are moving quickly into the most vicious, life and death situation which will pit poor people against poor people, cause violent racial conflict and result in untold human misery. We must act boldly, decisively and quickly."

WHY A CITY-WIDE CONFERENCE

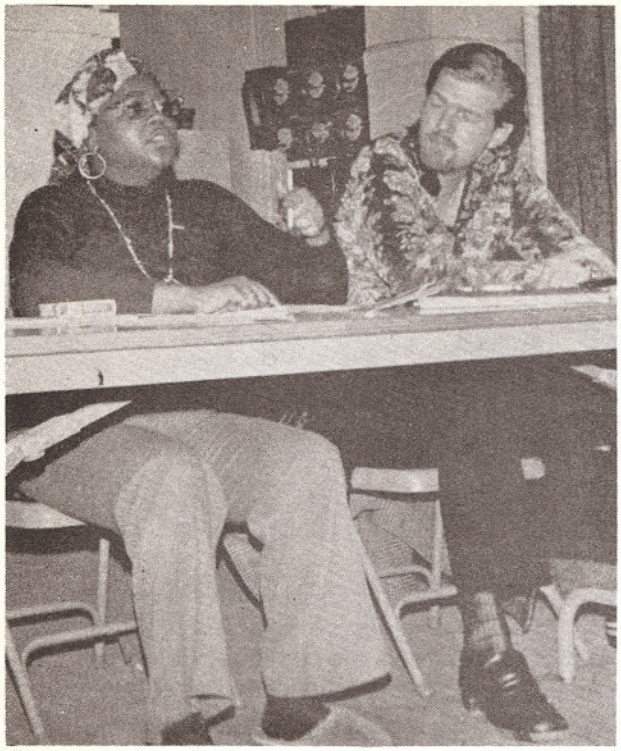
Conference organizers point out that every poor family — Black, Latino, Native American or white — knows full well that there is a crisis in low-income housing. They do not need to be told that the vacancy rate in many poor neighborhoods is less than 3% as was recently confirmed in a report by Baird and Warner. Large families, senior citizens and the youth of our communities have spent long hours seeking out managers and landlords of substandard housing, making large deposits and moving in only to see buildings deteriorate for lack of maintenance or to be torn down for new upper-income developments.

According to the initiators of the conference, however, the level of tenant organization is at a low ebb. The structures for tenants to organize themselves in do not exist. And most important, the extent of the future crisis in housing is known only to the experts — the city planners downtown and the large real estate speculators. "Tenants have not come together across this city and confronted the fact that there *is* a Chicago housing plan, a plan to gradually eliminate low-income housing from the city." The purpose of the conference is to help establish tenant organizations across the city and to allow tenants from different neighborhoods to develop a united front against the city's determination to drive them out.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE "DRIVE THEM OUT" POLICY IN THE CITY

Over the last thirty years many conditions brought poor people into the cities. World War II and the Korean War took men off the production lines and created new jobs in the city. The small farmers were run out of the south by the big farmers and the mines became automated, needing fewer workers. Unemployment up to 50% in Puerto Rico brought people to the cities also looking for work. During the fifties there was a need for cheap labor, and there were plenty of jobs. Chicago, along with other northern and western cities, filled up with Black, Latino and white workers.

But during the sixties the situation changed. Industry moved out of the city. There were fewer and fewer jobs. The white middle class moved out of the city as more and more Black, Latino and poor whites moved in, so that the tax base went down at the same time that the cost of services to poor people — such as welfare, hospitals, etc. — went up. White political machines, like Daley's, were threatened by growing Black political power. Then, in 1964, Black and poor people began to "riot" in response to worsening conditions. Those in power saw the cities, which contained the main offices of high finance, industry and commerce, under seige by poor people. Those in power in city, state and federal government defined their objective:



Marion Stamps and Slim Coleman, organizers of January Tenants' Conference.

Guest speaker Elaine Brown, popular community activist and leading member of the Black Panther Party.

bring the middle class back into the city and drive the Black, Latino and white poor and unemployed out.

URBAN RENEWAL

The federally funded urban renewal program was never intended to build low-income housing. The plan was to buy up land, demolish substandard housing, create a few improvements like sidewalks and parks, and sell the land to developers at cheap prices. The money-hungry developers were interested only in creating middle and upper-income housing, because low-income housing was not profitable to them.

When an area was targeted by urban renewal, such as Lincoln Park, Uptown, Woodlawn, parts of the west side, the speculators moved in. Landlords let their buildings go because developers wanted the land not the buildings. Arson became an almost daily occurrence. Gradually the low-income housing was or is being destroyed. Some people have been moved 7 and 8 times, from one neighborhood to another, as urban renewal targeted and destroyed their homes, step by step.

CHICAGO CITY PLANS

In city hall, in the Department of Development and Planning, there are copies of a series of neighborhood plans: the Chicago 21, the Near North Plan, the Uptown Plan, the Woodlawn Plan, etc. Nowhere in these plans is there indicated the construction or rehabilitation of low-income housing. They are plans to bring the white middle class back into the city by providing middle-class communities and middle-class housing for them to move into. Federal money for housing has been used to implement these plans, not to create more low-income housing. At the center of these plans is a very dangerous move: the determination to eliminate public housing from the inner city.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: OUT OF THE BUSINESS OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has made it clear now that it is not interested in building more public housing. Existing public housing projects like Cabrini Green, Robert Taylor Homes and Harold Ickes will soon be paid for by the city, and then they will belong to the city. The city is selling these projects as soon as it can to private developers, who will destroy them or convert them into middle and upper-income housing. Montgomery Ward has already bought part of Cabrini Green.

"THE NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS"

As of January 1st the Brooke Amendment

went out of effect. This federal law had allowed those on public assistance in public housing to pay no more than 25% of their income for rent. Now rents can be raised legally to market prices, as high as $205 for a 1 bedroom apartment in one of the projects.

The Department of Public Aid has no intention of giving out larger checks to meet rent increases. In fact, recipients are being cut off public aid every day on various technicalities.

Two programs are supposed to help solve the housing problem caused by abandoning the housing projects: the "Section 8" program, and the "scattered site housing" program. According to the "Section 8" program (Section 8 of the new Housing and Community Development Act) families who qualify can become approved for a cash grant to cover 75% of their rent. But of the 905,000 people who qualify for the program in Chicago, according to official statistics, there is only money allocated for 571 families. The program is a drop in the bucket and a farce.

According to the "scattered site housing" program, 3 and 6 unit complexes of public housing are to be built in middle-class neighborhoods. Regulations for the new housing exclude families of over four people; however. The city of Chicago has been reluctant to build even these few thousand units because of the resistance in white middle-class neighborhoods to have Black, Latino and poor people move in.

But even if the city does build a few thousand units of scattered site housing they will not begin to replace the hundreds of thousands of units of low-income housing being destroyed by the city and private developers in neighborhoods and in the projects.

THE CONSEQUENCES

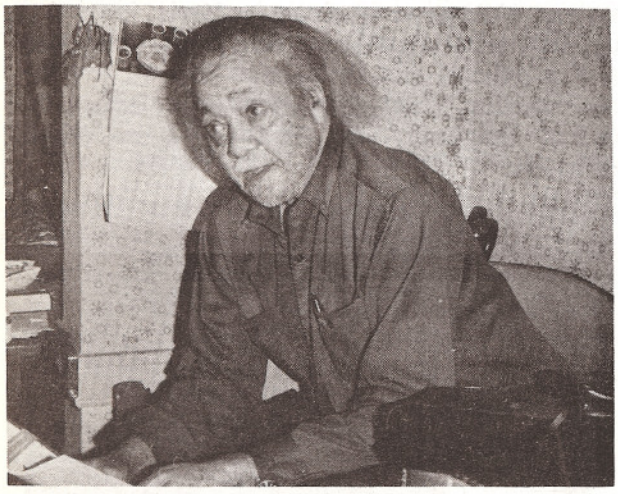
Organizers of the January tenants' conference point out that over the next few years thousands of poor families will be forced to seek housing in new neighborhoods. They will be competing with each other, and they will be viewed as invaders by neighborhoods where there is already a shortage in housing. Existing racism in all-white neighborhoods will be turned into hysteria and violence. It is a difficult enough job in this segregated city to avoid racial conflict. With a housing shortage of crisis proportions violence is inevitable.

Conference organizers ask how it is possible for a government that is supposed to represent the people to pursue a policy of destroying low-income housing without providing new housing for people to relocate in? The answer, they say, is that it is already being done. The problem now is to organize tenants in every neighborhood and public housing project to resist the city policies and to demand decent, low-income housing. Such city-wide organization is possible, they say, because there is no other alternative.□

HOW WE GOT HERE

With a severe housing shortage and high unemployment in Chicago, KEEP STRONG *initiated an independent investigation into the reasons people from many different places and cultures came to Chicago and why they remain here. For the most part the response has been the same, "we couldn't get no work," "our children had no chance for education," "you couldn't live." So, with the promise of a halfway decent job or the opportunity of a relevant education, families from Puerto Rico, Mississippi, Kentucky, West Virginia and Wisconsin moved to Chicago with hopes of a better life in the "second city." To find what? No jobs, excessive police harassment and brutality, poor schooling for their youth, run-down and neglected housing, city streets where their children grow up too fast, forced to survive on the streets.*

People speak best for themselves. Following are excerpts from four of the many interviews done by KEEP STRONG *which reflect the harsh reality of life in the oppressed communities of America today.*



Tommy Robertson worked as a farm laborer, picking cotton and other crops in Mississippi, until he was 45 years old. He then suddenly pulled up stakes, leaving everything he owned, and moved to St. Louis, Missouri. He moved because, "Down there white people think that they can boss anybody around; well, I don't let no man boss my family around. I believe a man has a right to run his own family, so when the bossman tried to tell me that my kids had to be in the fields rather than in school, I decided it was time to leave. I had to go some place where I could get an education for my children."

Once he got to St. Louis, Mr. Robertson faced one hardship after another. Unable to find a job — "no one wanted to hire a 45 year old man" — he went to the welfare office for help. They told him that they could not help his family as long as he lived in the house. He moved to Chicago, leaving his family in St. Louis. In Chicago he got a job working in a hardware store for $35 a week. He sent home $30 to help support his wife and 15 children.

Finally after two years of this, unable to continue this forced separation, he returned to St. Louis. His family was immediately cut off welfare, but luckily this time he was able to find a job. Shortly after his return, his wife died. "Then things got really bad in St. Louis. The police had shot a 12 year old boy, who was handcuffed and tried to run, in the back. This made the people really angry. After that there was constant shooting between the police and the people. It got to the point where I was afraid to leave my children at home during the day while I was at work." Mr. Robertson was again forced to move, this time to Chicago.

Now unable to work because of crippling arthritis, Mr. Robertson is forced to support his family off of welfare payments. He still has four school age children to care for. When asked if things are better in Chicago, he said, "No, the police are worse, they have no respect for the people and sometimes I wonder if they have any respect for themselves, the people have no jobs, there's all kinds of dope and one can barely get by on welfare, but at least I can get an education for my children."

Shirley Brewster says she is just like most of the people from West Virginia around here. They

came to Chicago because "people just couldn't make it anymore in West Virginia." Mrs. Brewster grew up in Wyoming County, West Virginia in a family of eleven children. Her father worked as a coal miner. Even then times were very hard. "The only way we were able to make it was by raising everything we ate, all of our own fruit and vegetables, chickens and hogs."

After getting out on her own and beginning to raise her own family, Mrs. Brewster was soon forced to go to the welfare office for help because of the increasing lack of jobs in West Virginia. "In Wyoming Co. a family of five could only get $125 a month. After rent and utilities, this left us with only about $25 to buy food. We just couldn't make it on that. We had heard that there were plenty of jobs in Chicago, so we moved."

In Chicago things were not much better. "You get a little bit more money, but everything costs a lot more. The worst thing about Chicago, however, is that the kids have to grow up too fast. In West Virginia there was time for them to be kids, but here when you walk out the front door you're on the streets, and you know how that is.

"I'd like to go back home, but it's just that I've been here for nine years.

There's just no jobs back there, I can't support these children back there, and here in Chicago you can get by."

Margaret Lynk is a full-blooded Chippewa Indian from the Lac Courte Orrilles Reservation in Wisconsin. She first moved off the reservation to the town of Hayworth, Wisconsin because it was too isolated on the reservation and too difficult to get to the store, especially with small children at home. She says she decided to move to Chicago because "all kinds of trouble was developing for my children, and I wanted them to have some opportunity, some way to get ahead in life. I thought in Chicago they might be able to get an education and develop some means to make it all right."

In Chicago it's been difficult. Mrs. Lynk says she has had to spend much of her time working, trying to keep her kids in school, and somehow keeping them off the streets and away from all the drinking, sniffing, and other kinds of trouble out there. When asked if things were any better in Chicago, she said, "It seems as if this country has left the Indian people behind; we have no jobs, very little chance of a decent education, and you know that the welfare department does not treat us right. The white man took our land, drove us from our homes, and all they have offered us in return are a lot of questions, no answers, just a lot of questions."

Carmen Torres came to Chicago from Puerto Rico when she was 14 because her mother lived here. This was in the 50's when many Puerto Ricans came to Chicago, New York and other northern cities looking for jobs and the promise of a better life and more opportunities. But things were even worse. There were no jobs and because they spoke little or no English they often ended up on welfare or in rapidly swelling jails. When she was 9 years old her father who had gone to New York City was killed in the county jail there when a prison guard refused him help when he was attacked by another inmate shouting, "Kill that nasty Puerto Rican."

Carmen has lived both in New York and Chicago. She lives in Chicago now with her five children. Life here she says has been very hard. "Maybe people like it here because they like cold weather, not me. In this city, in order to eat, they expect you to cry and beg. That's hard, not me. If I don't get it I try, but I won't put my knees to the floor.

"To me Puerto Rico is beautiful. In Puerto Rico you didn't need much to live, and the people are warmer. If I get a chance to go back to Puerto Rico, I won't come back here."□

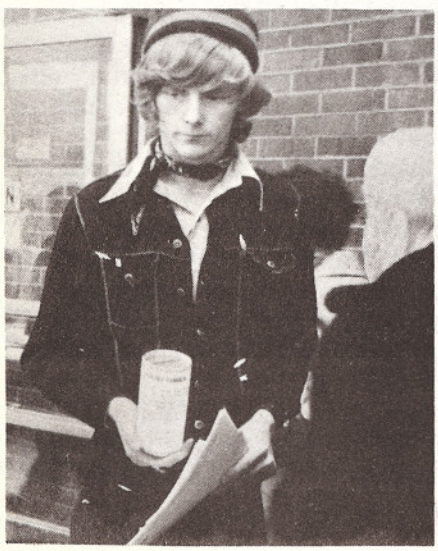
HARD TIMES CHRISTMAS IN UPTOWN

More people go to jail in December, around Christmas time, than at any other time of the year. The reason should be clear. It is hard to tell a child who has been watching 8 weeks of advertising that you are too poor to come up with anything on December 25th.

For six years, the Intercommunal Survival Committee has organized for the Fred Hampton/ Mark Clark Christmas Survival Program, commemorating the two members of the Black Panther Party who were killed by Hanrahan's special police. One of Fred Hampton's major contributions had been the initiation of survival programs in the oppressed community. The Christmas Program has always been able to provide 400 to 500 families with Christmas baskets by getting donations from stores and from corporations who write off the donations on their taxes. This year was different.

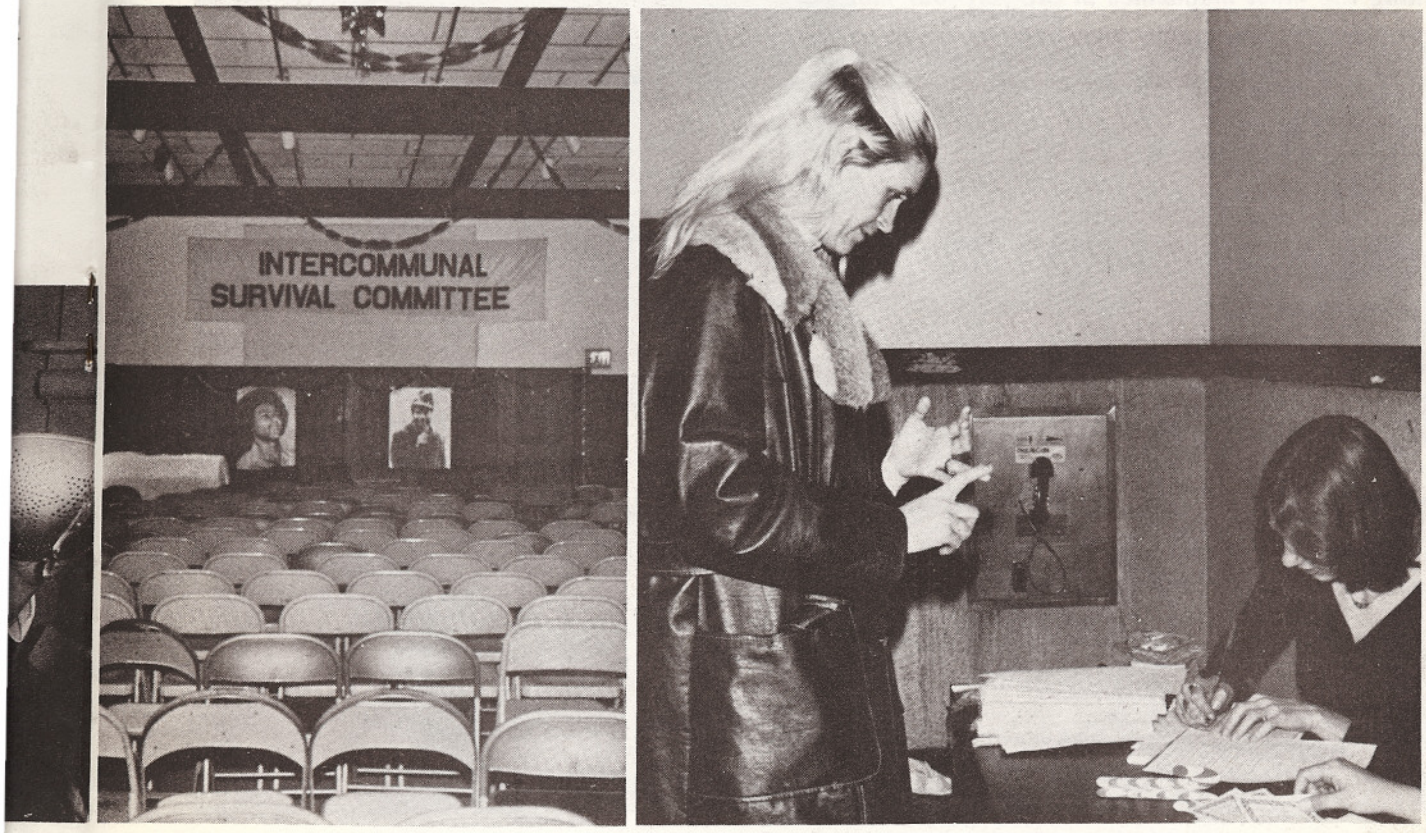
On December 1st, the Survival Committee announced at a weekly community forum that there were few if any donations coming in this year. At the same time the hard times were making this Christmas harder than ever. The Committee called on community volunteers to band together for a "Hard Times Christmas Party."

On December 20th, after a long night's work, the doors were opened at 4520 N. Beacon to a beautifully decorated hall, with the gifts and groceries organized neatly for distribution. Nearly 700 people packed in before the doors had to be closed for reasons of safety. In order to insure a fair distribution, each family signed in, writing down the number of people in the family.

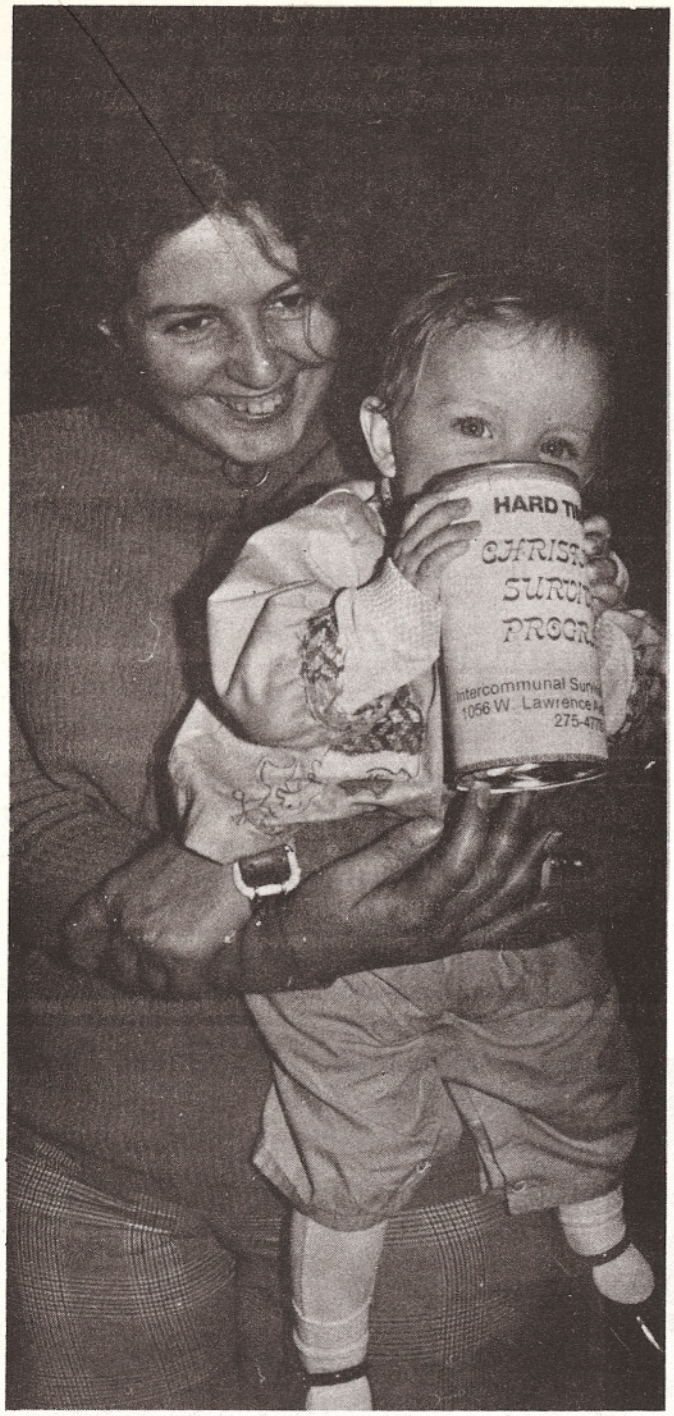


FRED HAMPTON • MARK CLARK
CHRISTMAS SURVIVAL PROGRAM
FRED HAMPTON • MARK CLARK
CHRISTMAS SURVIVAL PROGRAM
FRED HAMPTON • MARK CLARK
CHRISTMAS SURVIVAL PROGRAM

Over four hundred people responded at some level and worked canning, cooking, soliciting donations from local stores, wrapping presents and bagging groceries. Nearly two thousand dollars was collected by volunteers with cans, some standing out in the cold until eleven and twelve at night in near zero weather. Hundreds cooked a dish or two for the party.



After speakers explained the significance of naming the program after Brother Fred Hampton and Brother Mark Clark, Kim Nash led everybody in her newly composed song "Hard Times Christmas" and another growing favorite in the community "99 Shots" about the murder of Brothers Fred and Mark. The editor of KEEP STRONG *presented Brother George Roman with a new 10 speed bicycle for selling the most magazines in the last four months.*



"HARD TIMES CHRISTMAS"

It's going to be a hard times Christmas, little sister.
You're going to have to understand.
It's going to be a hard times Christmas, little brother.
You're going to have to be a man.

Everybody loves the children,
Or so they say.
But if we really love the children,
We're going to have to change.

My child must be your child
And your child must be mine.
That's the only way
I can see they will survive.

CHORUS

Take the Black child,
The future's in their hand.
Take the little white child,
You've got to make a stand.

Take the Indian children,
This land belongs to them.
And make a rainbow band so bright
You can see it.
Oh! Can't you see it
People you can see it shining.

CHORUS

Everybody loves freedom,
Or so they say.
But, if we really love freedom,
We're going to have to change.

If we have to cook together,
That's what we will do.
If we have to put our money together,
We're going to do that too.

CHORUS/REPEAT

Song by Kim Nash

After eating a delicious, home-cooked meal, the program's coordinator began calling the names of the people to get their groceries and presents for their families. Although the list was long, people waited patiently, enjoying the good spirit of the crowd, so that a fair distribution could be made.

When the program ended three hours later, there were hundreds of people still waiting outside. The whole program was done again for another jammed-packed 700 people. There was more singing and good spirits, more good eating and a raffle. Then another distribution of groceries, with a chicken in every bag, and toys for each child in the family was made.

In the words of one community resident, "We didn't get everything we could have wanted, but we got what we came for. This made my Christmas. We should work together like this all year around." The "Hard Times Christmas Party" was a success because the community unified to make it a success.

A MODEL OF RESISTANCE

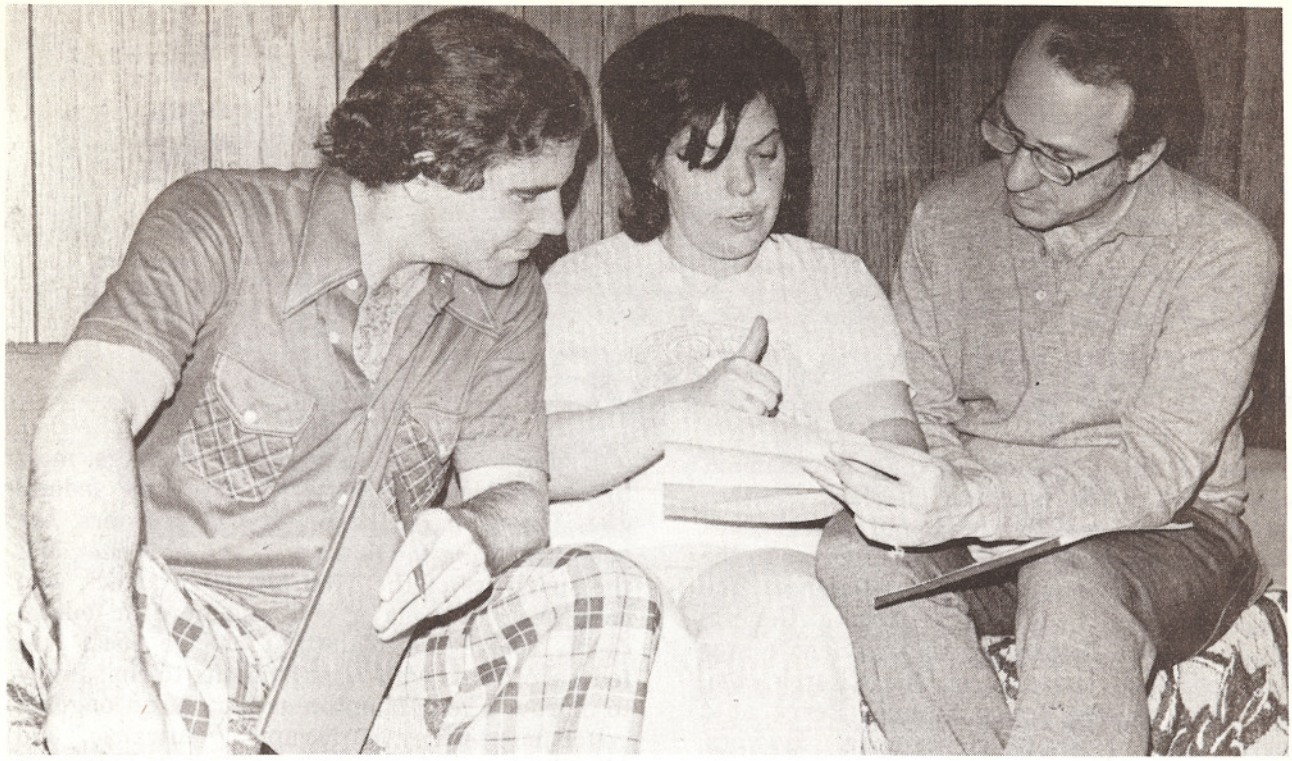
46th Ward Community Service Center Marks Its 6th Month

December marked the sixth month of the existence of the 46th Ward Community Service Center. This vital new community institution is the result of many years of community struggle and the lessons of mistakes as well as successes. According to its hard working staff coordinator, Marc Zalkin, the Center and its slogan "Dedicated to the right to live in a stable community," were directly inspired by the people's aldermanic campaign of Jose Cha-Cha Jimenez. Mobilizing thousands of people from the poor and oppressed community in the early months of 1975, this exciting campaign dramatized the crisis in low-income housing and the destruction of low-income stable communities throughout the entire city.

Speaking to groups 9 and 10 times a day, Jimenez hammered home the "urban removal" of his family and community through Clark St., Old Town, Lincoln Park, Lakeview and Uptown. He drew a vivid picture of the calculated city policy to remove poor people from the inner city and the human misery that it cost as thousands of people were made "urban migrants." The Service Center was established as a model of resistance to those inhuman city policies.

A major initiative of Service Center activities was a class action suit filed against the city and big developer William Thompson to block the infamous Pensacola development at Montrose and Broadway. Filed by the eminent attorney, Service Center General Counsel James Chapman, the suit alleged a conspiracy on the part of the city and developer Thompson to destroy a

Mobilizing thousands of people from the poor and oppressed community in the early months of 1975, the exciting people's aldermanic campaign of Jose Cha-Cha Jimenez dramatized the crisis in low-income housing and the destruction of low-income stable communities throughout the entire city.



The 46th Ward Community Service Center's hard working staff coordinator Marc Zalkin (left) and the Center's eminent General Counsel James P. Chapman (right) who filed the historic suit for community residents, with a community resident.

low-income neighborhood in violation of the city zoning ordinance and civil rights amendments to the constitution. Although the suit is moving slowly through the courts, it has already been highly successful in giving financial backers of Thompson's project second thoughts, fearful that the litigation may result in eventual blocking of the middle and upper-income development. Most important, the suit has quickly become a model for people trying to defend themselves from rich and super-rich developers and is being studied in communities throughout the city.

Far from stopping at legal action, the Service Center has developed a comprehensive program to fight for the stabilization of the community. Arguing that poor families are being driven from the neighborhood by a wide variety of oppressive conditions and institutions, the Center operates programs for legal defense, welfare and social security defense, black lung counseling, tenants' rights, youth recreation, unemployment counseling, emergency services, including loss of heat in winter, and a housing stabilization program. The Center has been able to assist small landlords sincerely committed to low-income housing in the management and financing of their buildings and to help them deal with city bureaucracies which often act in the interest of behind-the-scenes developers. The Service Center has established an agreement with the utility companies to negotiate back payments of utilities by landlords so that gas and lights are not cut off on tenants whose landlords fall behind in the payment of utilities.

In six months, over 1,500 people have asked for and received assistance in meeting problems and fighting conditions that might otherwise drive them from the community. After waiting two or three months for an overdue unemployment check, an eviction may be coupled with a serious medical problem and an entanglement with the police by some member of the family. All these conditions come together to force a family out of the neighborhood. And, according to staff workers, conditions of oppression grow quickly worse in areas which the city or big developers mark for destruction.

The increasingly professional, but wholly community volunteer staff, is growing as people who have come to the Center for assistance come back to learn how to assist others. As a model of resistance to the city, the Service Center is developing a cooperative network of people, at the grass roots level, who are working to insure their collective survival and the survival of the community. In this way, the Service Center through its day to day survival work, is building a structure which the community can and is using to defend itself.□

TRUTH EMERGES IN HAMPTON MURDER

JUDGE SAMUEL PERRY TRIES TO MAINTAIN COVER-UP

Some of the evidence of U.S. government involvement in the murders of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark here six years ago may now be turned over to the special Senate committee on intelligence. The compromise deal to let U.S. Attorney General Levi turn over documents to the Senate was struck between lawyers for the Church committee and federal Judge Samuel Perry at a special court hearing. Government lawyers, acting on instructions from Washington, strongly opposed the move.

Judge Perry, who has kept a vast amount of evidence of government activities secret for months, clearly did not want a legal fight with the Senate. Neither did he want to authorize release of most of the documents. The committee, in turn, severely watered down its request to examine the mountain of evidence of illegal government participation in the killings of Hampton and Clark.

Under a series of Judge Perry's rulings, most of the evidence of city, county, and federal government participation in the murders *has been kept from the families of the slain men* and the survivors of the 1969 pre-dawn attack who have brought a major civil suit here in federal court. They (the plaintiffs) charge local and federal officials with what amounts to conspiracy to murder Fred Hampton as part of an ongoing government policy to "disrupt," "neutralize," and "destroy" groups active in the Black liberation movement.

JUDGE KEEPS CONSPIRACY SECRET

Lawyers for the Hampton and Clark families were in court the same day as the Senate committee attorneys. In order to prepare for trial in January, they demanded that Judge Perry turn over to their clients all the evidence he has about government counter-intelligence against the Illinois Black Panther Party. In addition, they called on the judge to make known all agents

Black Panther Party offices across the country have suffered raids and been left in shambles as in the picture above.

The FBI tried unsuccessfully in Chicago to create friction and disunity between the Black Panther Party, guided under the dynamic leadership of FRED HAMPTON (left) and the Blackstone Rangers, formerly led by JEFF FORT.

involved in illegal activities against their clients, and to order the FBI and other government agencies to turn over any other material about government conspiracy and cover-up after the murders.

In a very detailed motion, they outlined the already existing evidence of clear government policies to destroy the Black Panther Party in general and Fred Hampton specifically. These actions were part of U.S. counter-intelligence policies to destroy all political opposition by any means necessary.

The motion to disclose and discover evidence in the Hampton case listed in detail what is already known of these policies.

1. The FBI's illegal and racist counter-intelligence actions included: forgery, blackmail, defrauding the U.S. mails, slander, burglaries, illegal wiretaps, encouraging local police to take illegal actions, setting up false arrests and prosecutions, illegal detention, kidnapping, soliciting to suicide, soliciting to murder, and assassination.

2. The illegal use of federal informers and provocateurs included: violence against civil rights activists, actions to disrupt groups in any way possible including manipulating organizations, invading family life, paying criminals as agents while they committed more crimes, setting up phoney organizations, and helping right wing terrorists to attack groups and individuals.

3. The Black Panther Party was a prime target of government attack. The FBI directed its major offices to "*submit imaginative and hard hitting counter-intelligence measures aimed at crippling the Black Panther Party...Every two-week period, each office is instructed to submit a letter containing counter-intelligence measures aimed at the Black Panther Party. The letter should also contain accomplishments during the previous two-week period.*" (From an order by J. Edgar Hoover filed in the secret "do not file" archives.)

In Chicago, they included attempts by FBI agents to set up attacks by the Blackstone Rangers against the Panthers through the use of vicious anonymous letters to Ranger leader Jeff Fort and others.

4. Every type of illegal activity including assassination and cover up was part of government policy and practice, not accident, as outlined in a long index to the evidence. The cover-up in the Hampton case included the appointment of Jerris Leonard who headed a special Justice Department "Panther Task Force" to also head the investigation into the Hampton and Clark murders. As a result, federal involvement was hidden until recently.

Judge Perry denied the motion by the attorneys for the Hampton and Clark families to reveal the evidence he holds now in secret. In a stormy court hearing, the attorneys accused Perry of acting as part of the continuing government cover-up of key evidence.

Postscript. As the year ended, it was revealed that a possible key witness in the Hampton case, Chicago FBI agent Ira L. Roten, was killed in a mysterious car crash near suburban Schaumberg. Attorneys for the Hampton and Clark families thought the FBI man might well have important evidence for their case. Roten was deeply involved with FBI informants including William O'Neal, who attempted to infiltrate and discredit the Illinois Black Panther Party.□

WHY HAVE THESE FEDERAL AGENCIES BEEN HARASSING THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND HUEY P. NEWTON?

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

which specifically targeted the Black Panther Party in its COINTELPRO program which attempted to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" Black "militant" and civil rights organizations.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

which served summonses on banks to find out the names of as many Black Panther Party contributors as possible — in order to intimidate those contributors and shut off funds to the Party.

THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS (AT&F)

whose agent, J.J. Newberry, personally showed up to arrest Huey P. Newton during a supposed "barroom incident" provoked by undercover Oakland police.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

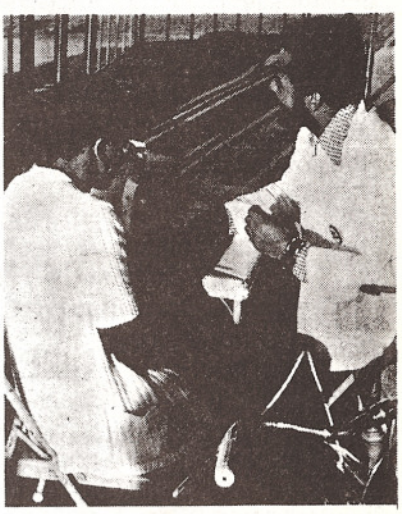
which has spied on uncounted U.S. groups and individuals. The Black Panther Party was the principal target organization mentioned in the original New York Times article on CIA domestic surveillance.

BECAUSE THEY DON'T LIKE WHAT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY HAS BEEN DOING!

SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

Under Huey P. Newton's leadership, the Black Panther Party has set up many "Survival Programs" to provide Black and poor people with decent food, clothing, medical care, education and other basic needs. The Black Panther Party's first survival program, the Free Breakfast for School Children Program organized in 1968, was so successful that the federal government was compelled to start its own School Breakfast Program on a national scale. Other Survival Programs organized by the Black Panther Party include:

- **FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS**
- **FREE SHOE PROGRAM**
- **FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM**
- **FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM**
- **FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS**
- **FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM**
- **FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM**
- **FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM**
- **SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH AND TESTING PROGRAMS**
- **SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.)- PROGRAM**



In 1971, the Black Panther Party began an active program of on-the-street testing for Sickle Cell Anemia, an inherited blood disease that affects primarily Black people.

PETITION

We the undersigned urge the committees of Congress investigating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to do a thorough and complete investigation — not only of the activities of these agencies against prominent and "respectable" organizations — but also of the abuses suffered by minority and civil rights organizations, including the following:

Black Panther Party
Institute of the Black World
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Conference Education Fund
Urban League
Welfare Rights Organization

SIGNATURE	NAME (printed)	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
1056 W. LAWRENCE AVE.. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640 (312) 275-4778

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(Please make checks payable to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton.)

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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25¢

The Intercommunal Survival Committee, publishers of **KEEP STRONG**, have been selling **THE BLACK PANTHER**, primarily to white people, for over 5 years now. Thousands are sold on the street, thousands more are delivered regularly to home subscribers. Articles from **THE BLACK PANTHER** are also frequently reprinted in **KEEP STRONG**. The many regular readers among poor and progressive whites is testimony to the relevance of this fine weekly paper to all oppressed people.

Of all the many contradictions and confusions that divide poor and oppressed people, racism is probably the most vicious and most destructive to unity and power. So much of the society we live in is shaped by the way it oppresses Black and Third World people, that to understand our own situation as whites, it is necessary also to understand the situation of Black people.

The Intercommunal Survival Committee also believes that the concrete example of the Black Panther Party, the methods of successful struggle, the implementation of many survival programs serving the community, are models from which we can learn in defending ourselves, our families and our own communities from those who would use and abuse us for their own profit.

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NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Focus: Housing News Highlights

U.S. TO SHIFT HOUSING FUNDS TO MIDDLE CLASS

U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Carla Hills, addressed the country's mayors recently. She said that for the first time in over ten years middle-income people are moving back to the cities from the suburbs. Mrs. Hills urged local officials to follow the federal government's example and encourage the trend, adding it would mean a big increase in tax money. Cities, she said, should concentrate their resources on providing neighborhoods and services that attract middle-income people. Mrs. Hills said they want to live near colleges, parks, shopping, and areas of historical interest. She did not say where people with low incomes should live nor what services cities should provide for them.□

REP. CHARGES HOUSING REPORT SQUELCHED

Wisconsin Congressman Les Aspin charged that a special presidential advisory panel report on housing was deliberately suppressed by the Ford administration. The panel recommended an immediate step-up of federal housing programs. The White House did not release the full report, issuing only a one page summary of its conclusions instead.□

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION RIPS FEDERAL HOUSING POLICIES

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission said minorities and women still face discrimination in housing and called on Congress to authorize 600,000 new units of low and moderate-income housing each year until 1978.

"The effect of discrimination in housing has caused untold suffering for minorities and women, especially those at the lower end of the economic scale," the Commission said in its 188 page report. The report described how discrimination "has kept a much larger portion of minorities and women from acquiring any but the worst housing available."

The Commission criticized both the President and Congress for abandoning the goals of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, which called for the construction or rehabilitation of 6 million federally subsidized housing units by 1978. In the study the Commission charged the U.S. government with being "insensitive" to Native Americans living on reservations, and accused the Ford administration of shaping housing subsidy policies that favor middle-income over low-income families.

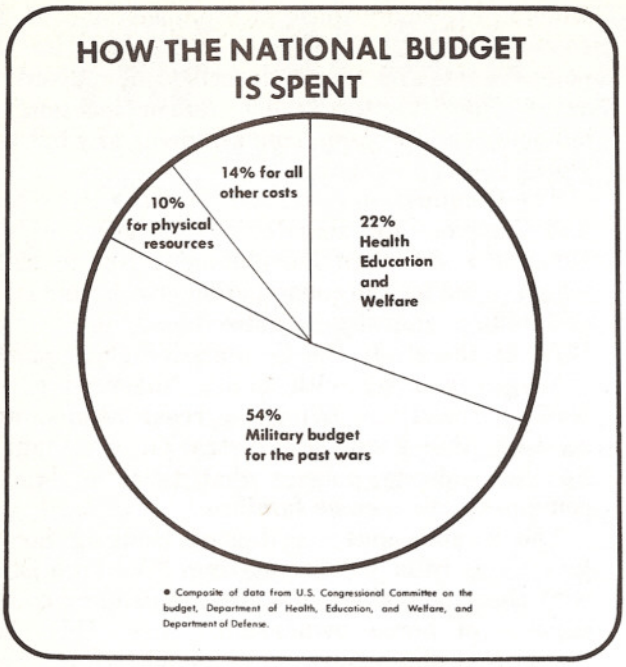
The commissioners criticized Housing Secretary Carla Hills' policies stating, "We take issue with those who allege low-income people are not capable of home ownership." Mrs. Hills has stated that she believes poor people should rely on low-rent opportunities in the government's Section 8 program — a program Mrs. Hills has admitted is not going well and that many call a clear failure.

The Civil Rights Commission report squarely blamed housing shortages, discrimination and poor conditions on the federal government. "Because of the extensive nature of its involvement in housing and community development, the U.S. government has been the single most influential entity shaping urban growth in America."

News Highlights From Around The Nation

WHERE OUR TAX MONEY GOES... AND GOES

The U.S. military budget for 1976 will total a startling *90 billion dollars*. The new war budget will be higher than this year's by more than $7 billion. Spending on military projects and weapons accounts for a minimum of 54 per cent of all government spending. More war making expenses are hidden in other parts of the budget. Funds for health, education and welfare for U.S.


HOW THE NATIONAL BUDGET IS SPENT
14% for all other costs
10% for physical resources
22% Health Education and Welfare
54% Military budget for the past wars
• Composite of data from U.S. Congressional Committee on the budget, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Department of Defense.

residents take just over 20 per cent of the federal budget, and much of this is used to support vast bureaucracies.

Hidden in the new military budget is at least $6 billion for "intelligence activities" of the CIA, the National Security Agency, the National Reconnaissance Office, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and various other operations. Although Congress voted to spend the funds, information on the true amount of money for "intelligence" (it is estimated to the closest 1 or 2 billion dollars), who will spend the money, or how it will be spent remains unknown to all but a few lawmakers.

While domestic programs suffer cutbacks, officials recently acknowledged that the U.S. Army squandered $150 million through "sloppy accounting practices." And the Air Force is planning to spend $1.5 billion to fix defective wings on the C-5A cargo planes. If the wing correction plans go through, the planes, built by Lockheed, will have cost about $6.8 billion — for 71 airplanes.□

HOW MANY LIVE IN POVERTY?

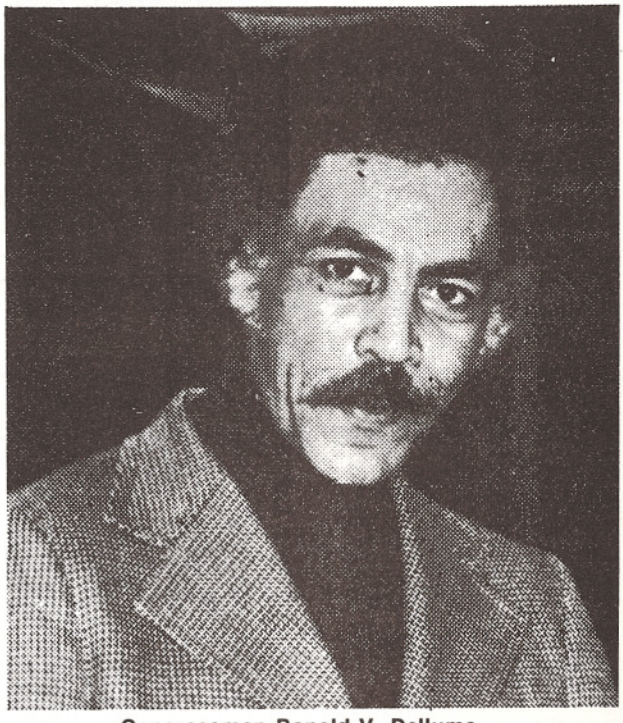
The Catholic Church's anti-poverty agency says that there are *at least* 40 million very poor people in the United States. This is 65 per cent higher than federal government figures. The church's group's report says, "The government caught in a political bind to keep expenses down and its reputation up, has done much to hide the facts." The 80 page report of the church's Campaign for Human Development entitled, "Poverty Profile 1975," based its own figures on a yearly family income of $3,210—which is, indeed, itself low.□

DELLUMS SPONSORS LAW TO STREAMLINE WELFARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has sponsored new legislation to reorganize and streamline the national welfare and social security systems. The measure, the Tax Credits and Allowances Act, has been endorsed by 22 other members of Congress.

In brief, the bill: (1) replaces food stamps and other spending restrictive programs with cash grants; (2) provides an Internal Revenue Service administered "negative" income tax beneficial to lower and middle-income groups; and (3) eliminates bureaucracies that keep benefit seekers waiting in lines for hours at a time.

Rep. Dellums pointed out that the bill would supplement low family income and therefore "encourage people to work rather than accept unemployment compensation or welfare payments." He considers its high point to be increased support of family cohesion. "This bill will encourage the father to remain in the household rather than desert so that his family can receive increased public assistance." At present the national welfare system pays much higher benefits, sometimes greater than a $2,000 difference, to families without a male as head-of-household.□



Congressman Ronald V. Dellums

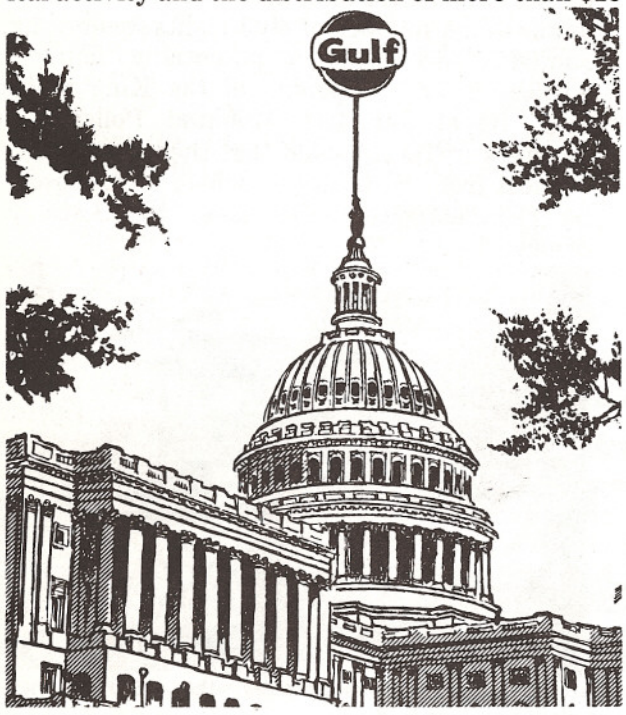
FORECAST HIGH COURT REVERSALS ON BASIC RIGHTS

Two justices predicted that the landmark Miranda decision (protecting an accused person's right to remain silent) will soon be overturned as the Supreme Court ruled 6 to 2 that in some cases police may continue to question suspects after they exercise their right to remain silent. The Miranda decision in 1966 ruled that a suspect must be advised of his rights to remain silent and to have a lawyer.

Judge John P. Stevens of Chicago, a conservative, was sworn in as the new ninth member of the Supreme Court last month. Stevens' appointment, said court observers, raises questions about further cut backs in basic rights. More "Miranda" type cases about protecting the rights of the accused, important civil rights and women's rights cases, and rulings on the death penalty are to be decided by the court in the coming months. Stevens' presence may have a major effect in continuing the trend toward cutting back basic rights.□

GULF OIL AND MILLIONS FOR THE POLITICIANS

Documents filed in a Washington court reveal a massive pattern of illegal kickbacks and political pay offs by Gulf Oil corporation. The court documents describe illegal domestic political activity and the distribution of more than $15 million to politicians of both parties across the country. A Gulf lobbyist began his career with the company by delivering $50,000 to Lyndon B. Johnson, then vice-president. Money was distributed in cash stuffed envelopes — behind a barn in one case, in a restaurant men's room in another.



But the Gulf story of bribery is just one of many coming to light about major U.S. corporations. The Watergate special prosecutor's office had evidence enough to move against hundreds of firms, but had to drop the cases last year when Congress changed the law. The Internal Revenue Service is checking the books of at least 110 companies.

Former Securities and Exchange Commission chairman Ray Garrett, Jr. called the new wave of scandal the second and perhaps bigger half of Watergate. "This is bribery, influence peddling, and corruption on a scale I had never dreamed existed," he said.□

FBI KNEW KKK TERROR PLANS — DID NOT ACT

A former FBI undercover agent, Gary Lowe, testified at a Senate hearing that he furnished the FBI with advance notice of many acts of Ku Klux Klan terror, but the FBI repeatedly failed to act. The former agent described the KKK connections with local southern governments and police.

For example, Birmingham, Alabama police and a klan mob planned to attack civil rights freedom riders with clubs on Mothers' Day in May, 1961. The FBI knew of the plans weeks ahead and took no steps to stop the mob beatings. The names of eight klansmen suspected of involvement in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing that killed four Black children were given to the FBI at the time — no action was taken.□

COALITION ATTACKS GOVERNMENT FAILURE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

A coalition of 57 groups accused the Health, Education and Welfare Department of "shocking, inexcusable failure" to enforce civil rights. "HEW officials have no credibility among those suffering discrimination and those concerned with civil rights," the coalition said in a strongly worded letter to HEW Sec. David Mathews.

It urged Mathews "to direct his urgent and sustained attention to the shocking, inexcusable failure and refusal of the department to carry out

its legal obligations." The letter also cited:

* A proposed change in enforcement of certain civil rights laws that would end HEW's responsibility to investigate discrimination complaints.

* Failure to act on evidence of discrimination against non-English speaking children in at least 350 school districts.

* A decision by the Dallas HEW office to stop action on complaints of sex and national origin discrimination against elementary and high schools.

* A six year backlog of complaints involving colleges, ensuring that action will come too late in most cases to benefit those who filed complaints.

Among the groups signing the letter were the American Association of University Women, American Civil Liberties Union, American Council of the Blind, American Federation of Teachers, American Veterans Committee, the Japanese-American Citizens League, League of Women Voters, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, National Organization for Women, National Urban Coalition, and the United Auto Workers.□

ILLINOIS DUMP FOR NUCLEAR WASTE

Morris, Illinois — a small town 40 miles southwest of Chicago — will soon be the site of the country's largest storage area for radioactive wastes from nuclear reactors. General Electric Co. recently got permission to use its currently useless $60 million nuclear fuel recycling plant near Morris for a depot for thousands of tons of radioactive material that will be shipped in from across the country. The plant's storage room is being expanded seven times to contain the waste. Questions are being raised about the safety of shipping and storing these radioactive waste products.□

CAIRO LEADER CHARLES KOEN VICTIM OF FBI ATTACKS

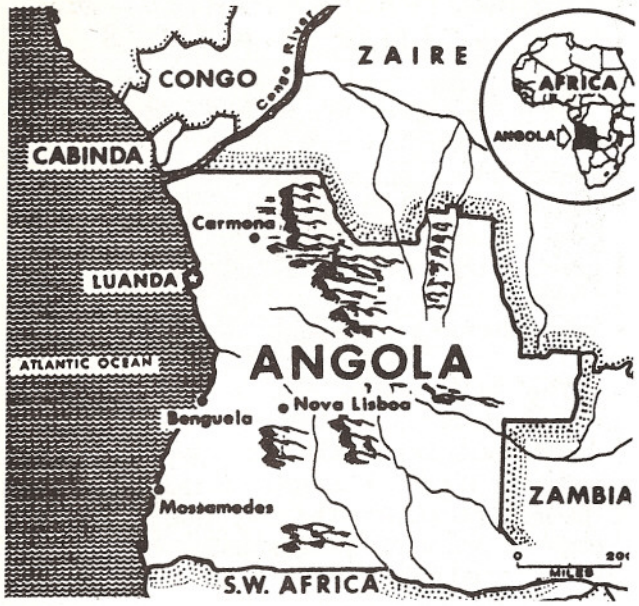
Rev. Charles Koen, a leader of the Cairo, Illinois Black community which has struggled for many years against a very racist power structure, was the victim of FBI smear tactics according to documents released in Washington. At the time, Rev. Koen was head of the United Front in Cairo, which, according to the FBI memo, made him dangerous since it was a "predominately Black organization which has been boycotting white merchants in Cairo for the past 20 months. It is felt that any diminution of Mr. Koen's support in Cairo would be beneficial since he appears to be the single most important cause of confrontation in Cairo." Vicious anonymous material about Rev. Koen was circulated following the FBI directive.□

FURTHER KING MURDER CASE MYSTERY

A Canadian man, 44 year old Clifford H. Andrews, named as a possible key witness in an assassination plot against the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was released from an Ontario prison two months ago, his current whereabouts unknown. A number of civil rights leaders have named Andrews as a potentially important witness in any reopening of the King murder case. Royal Canadian Mounted Police headquarters in Toronto said that there had been no request from Washington, which is supposed to be re-investigating the case, to locate Andrews.□

Questions are being raised about the safety of shipping and storing radioactive waste products that will be shipped to the General Electric Co.'s plant near Morris, Ill.

INTERCOMMUNAL PERSPECTIVE



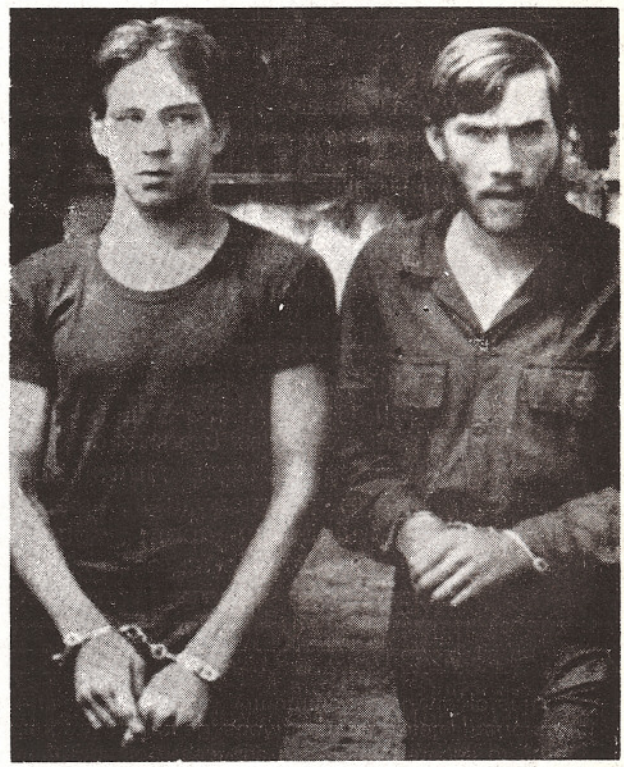
Angola Is Already Africa's Vietnam

The lies and distortions appearing in the U.S. press on the war in Angola are aimed at rallying popular support for the Kissinger/Ford scheme to bring about the overthrow of the legitimate government of the newly independent People's Republic of Angola, led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). KEEP STRONG *here reprints an article that appeared originally in the French language biweekly* Afrique-Asie *provided to* THE BLACK PANTHER *by the People's Translation Service of Berkeley, California. Asserting that "there is no doubt that this is directed and planned by the U.S. administration, particularly the Pentagon and the CIA," this article proves conclusively that "Angola is already the Vietnam of Africa." Only the power of the people of this country can prevent this "Vietnam" from escalating and threatening a major world confrontation and the consequent loss of life and destruction of land and property. Defeat of the U.S. Pentagon and CIA aggression against Africa is as inevitable as was the victory of the people of Vietnam.*

(Angola) No African people has ever been faced with a military aggression as vast as that unleashed by the "free world" in Angola during the last few months. Although precise statistics on men, arms and dollars are not yet available, there is enough evidence to evaluate the enormous efforts of the most redoubtable alliance of enemies of Africa that has ever been seen.

Along with the "great army" made up of three tribalist organizations, the FNLA, UNITA and FLEC (National Front for the Liberation of Angola, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and the Liberation Front of the Cabinda Enclave, respectively) which have mobilized a minimum of the Angolan people, at least two regular armies, those of Zaire and South Africa, are operating openly in the interior of Angola. In addition to these foreign troops and mercenaries, the ELP (Portuguese Liberation Army) — that is Portuguese "Spinolists" (supporters of Portuguese counterrevolutionary General Spinola) who see this war for the recolonization of Angola as the extension of the ELP's struggle for the restoration of fascism in Portugal — is also operating in Angola.

Civilian mercenaries, primarily recruited by South Africa among the Portuguese self-exiled colons in Namibia, who are determined to "take vengeance on the Africans," and from among the



Two white South African mercenaries captured by MPLA freedom fighters more than 400 miles inside Angola, exposing the lies of the racist South African regime.

"frightful" — the sinister veterans of the Congo, Biafra, Sudan, Yemen, etc. — are also operating in Angola. The recruitment and training of a corps of French and other European mercenaries in Gabon, and the presence of U.S. veterans of the Indochinese war has been reported. There are also hundreds of military advisors who accompany the arm shipments of the U.S.

BANDITS

Far from being a heterogeneous collection of bandits and professional soldiers, this "Western army" has already reached a certain level of cohesion. If the cooperation between the armies of (FNLA's) Holden, (Zaire President) Mobutu and (UNITA's) Savimbi dates from a considerable time, it has been known for more than a month that the South Africans and mercenaries that occupied Sa da Randeira and Mocamedes are under the orders of Daniel Chipenda, the "princeling" of Holden. (The South Africans are ready to overcome the rules of apartheid when it is a question of checking a revolutionary process.)

Finally, a Portuguese colonel and several officers "who are part of the General Staff of the FNLA" were interviewed on French television. Even the arms reinforcements are generally coordinated and are being distributed by two air bridges between Zaire and Windhoek (in Namibia) to the zones controlled by the "holy alliance."

Under these conditions, it is useless to harbor illusions; *Angola is already the Vietnam of Africa.* We will see there all the escalations and horrors that the "free world" imposed on the Indochinese peoples during 30 years. There is no doubt that this war is directed and planned by the U.S. administration, particularly the Pentagon and the CIA, long established in Kinshasa, which is the general headquarters for the U.S. secret services in Africa.

The U.S. wants this war and cynically provoked it, unconditionally supporting the dictatorial and expansionist regime of Mobutu, especially when it became clear that Mobutu was the main obstacle to the liberation of Angola. In order to maintain the monopolies' hold over the wealth of Angola, the U.S. has reached the point

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, even after Congress voted to cut war funds to Angola, made clear the administration's determination to maintain "balance of power" in Angola.

Agostinho Neto, leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

of saving Mobutu from economic and political disaster. The "plot" to overthrow Mobutu (which he attributed to the CIA) was staged by him and psychologically aided the "Zaire lobby" in Washington and Europe. This lobby mobilized in June to obtain all possible assistance from the U.S. Congress and administration.

Also in June, the principal U.S. banks which had given credit to Zaire became alarmed, as Mobutu had just informed them that he was stopping payments to them; there wasn't a single dollar in the treasury . . . The Zaire lobby reacted well, while Kissinger struggled with Congress to increase annual aid to Zaire from $20 to $60 million. Europe also rushed to the aid of Mobutu. On the eve of Angolan independence, he received the last shipment of French "Mirage" jet-fighters.

Mobutu's career is at stake in Angola. He knows he cannot survive the victory of the progressive forces in Angola. Chosen to play the role of "sub-imperialist agent" in Africa that Iran and Brazil play in other continents, Mobutu succeeded in the early seventies in breaking in on the African scene, disguised as an anti-imperialist at the last hour. He immediately used this credit with other African leaders (notably President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kaunda of Zambia) to try to divide and destroy the MPLA and then launch Holden Roberto as the Angolan national "leader." Although he obtained some initial success, as shown by the fact that the MPLA was led to sign an accord of unity with the FNLA in 1972, MPLA leader Neto, Nyerere and Kaunda soon after denounced the true machinations of Mobutu and Holden, and isolated them.

Today, an independent Angola led by the MPLA constitutes a great hope for the Zairean clandestine movements which for years have defied Mobutu's repression. Mobutu and his privileged caste know that the entire countryside crushed by his corrupt regime, is against them and is waiting for the moment to liberate themselves. That is why Mobutu cannot lose his war in Angola. While he pretends to oppose the policy of "dialogue" with South Africa, he did not hesitate to tighten his ties with South Africa to the point of becoming a military ally.

South Africa is the second pole of imperialist strategy in Africa. If Mobutu is a candidate for the role of "sub-imperialist," South Africa is the policeman of neocolonialism in the continent. The U.S., which supplied 100 pounds of enriched uranium to South Africa (enough to make seven nuclear bombs) appears ready to take over the Simonstown Naval base from Britain.

MILITARY ADVENTURE

South African Premier Vorster has not hesitated to throw himself into a military adventure in Angola. This is because he is not going to repeat his mistake with Mozambique. Convinced that Africans can only be terrorists or puppets, he interpreted FRELIMO's verbal moderation during the transitional government of Chissano as a manifestation of opportunism, or even capitulation. Today Vorster has plenty of evidence that independent Mozambique will not renounce the principles it has defended since its birth.

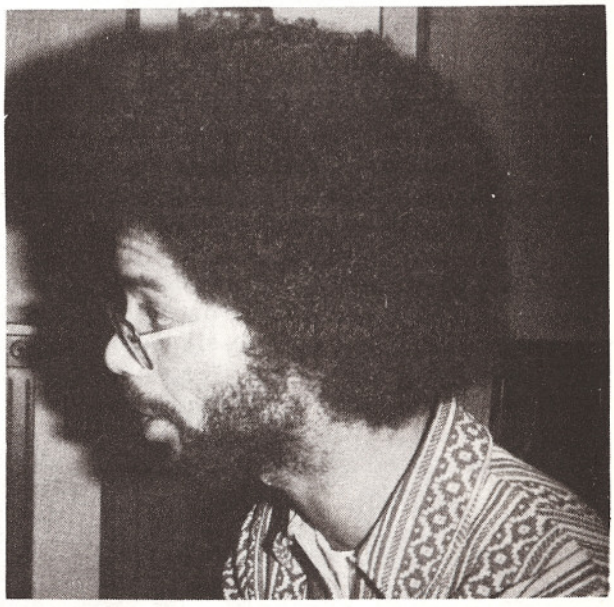
It is out of the question for South Africa to permit the birth of a progressive Angola which: a) would permit an enormous qualitative leap in the liberation struggle of Namibia; b) would re-enforce the revolutionary front with Mozambique (even moving the tepid Kaunda to take militant positions); could wrest the control of an important part of southern Africa's riches from the hold of the multinationals. Like Mobutu, Vorster placed his pawns in Angola long ago, and also like Mobutu he is ready for anything, even to dismember Angola, to reach his goals.

Once again the comparison with Indochina comes up. The Angolan people are the legitimate emulators of the Vietnamese struggle, but also certain of the result of their fight, they defend themselves against the invaders, fighting and working.□

Gil SCOTT-HERON

Raps About Music, The Community, The Struggle

Gil Scott-Heron, together with Brian Jackson and the Midnight Band, known for their meaningful progressive lyrics and unique modern sound, recently performed in Chicago. KEEP STRONG **had the opportunity at this time to interview the outstanding songwriter-composer-recording artist Gil Scott-Heron. Following are excerpts from this lengthy and informative interview.**



COMMITMENT

"You know the main thing that I'm trying to relate to people when we're performing or informing is the question of commitment, how thoroughly you're committed.

"Because any time you want to write 'Hey come on baby, let's screw,' it may be number one. But the question of commitment has always kept me going down any other street except the one I was on, because I was committed to what I was doing.

"The things we've always been concerned with — freedom, justice, and equality — we're still concerned with. The firm commitment is still a firm commitment.

"We just worked like hell. We started out the same way. Like me and Brian, we were living in a little room about the size of this one. We had gotten a piano. And our whole intent was related to the fact that we knew what needed to be done. It's always a question of commitment. What are you willing to sacrifice in order to gain something? They call that in the music business 'paying dues.' They could call it that in life. How strong do you feel that what you're doing is relevant. The community will provide for you, if the community sees you as part of them. They'll help you out.

KNOWLEDGE WILL SET US FREE

"That's the best thing you can do for your child: to show him by the way that you live your life what type of thing is positive, what is negative. So they see people working to get something together. They can see someone presenting themselves as a man. They can see somebody who won't bring down negative images on Black people.

"Knowledge will set everybody free. White people's knowledge of Black people will break down fibs. Black people's knowledge of white people will break down fibs — fibs which have kept us at the point where we are now. So knowledge — we cultivate that. We cultivate that within our children; and strength for them to face life.

"There are people who look at life at the age of 6 and already see a ceiling on how high they can go and what they can do. They'll be influenced by that throughout the rest of their life. So we'd like the babies to know as well as the old folks that there's no limit to what we can do as long as we are knowledgeable of what we've done already — not what Hollywood or TV says.

WE PERSEVERE

"We persevere. We've persevered beyond Nixon. He's gone, we're still here. People are

serious. That's the only way they can maintain The Vietnamese showed the world. Perseverance will win out. A lot of people over here are beginning to understand. The same thing they're beginning to understand about Vietnam, is the same thing they're beginning to understand about exploitation and imperialism in general. That's the thing you hope they would come to understand. It's a by-product of the processes that we're going through — the educational process.

"Like people aren't going to understand like **that**! But little by little, with constant exposure to Watergate, the CIA, the civil rights movement, down to the assassination list, they come to understand.

"Like what they were trying to do to King. We spoke on that a couple of years ago when we wrote 'All of the healers had been killed or sent away.' In general, it was to cause confusion. What they're trying to do in Black communities and to Black organizations is to cause confusion. And it's only our ability to finally have confidence in ourselves and clear purpose that will not allow them to confuse us. But it's resolved that it takes a long time to get some things straight — sometimes as long as it took to get them crooked.

MAKING A CONTRIBUTION

"It's the same thing with everything else they've distorted to their own ends. That's what makes me feel better — that there will be an end. And I'm on the side of the 99% right now as opposed to the 1% that's running all this. I'm on the side of the Constitution. The point is that the government itself does not pursue the Constitution or the Bill of Rights.

"Our philosophy is this: nobody can do everything, but everybody can do something. We have a type of feeling based on the fact that we went through a lot, where we made $4 a night — three or four sets a night. We had to pool all our money just to get home, or something to eat.

"So I'm saying having had to go through those types of experiences often brings you to a realization that you're so much stronger when there's ten of you in a family, or hundreds in a community, or thousands. It doesn't make no sense to go out by yourself.

"Hopefully, a lot of people will come to that realization. We're saying there's already organizations set up in most communities that most people could contribute to on a voluntary basis. Their contribution would also help give them more strength. There are a lot of positive things being done and need to be done in our communities. For people who are interested in doing things, there are opportunities in the community for self-help and helping people — as we also attempt to do."□

dolly PARTON *Opinion*

They are saying in the personality magazines that Dolly Parton is about to become the new "queen of country music." She has three hit singles this year, and she's going to have her own TV show starting soon.

Songs like "The Bargain Store," "Jolene," and "I Will Always Love You," which Dolly Parton wrote and recorded, should put her near the top, and as a country girl who has paid her dues on the way up, you can't help but wish her well.

Suppose that 5,000 people in Uptown and around Chicago each wrote Dolly Parton a letter that said, "Dolly, we love the way you sing, and the songs you sing. We wonder if you could write and sing a few more. Could you write a song about what its like to live in slum houses, or be run from the neighborhood by urban renewal. Could you write about the way the police treat poor people like dirt and trash? Could you write one about poor people struggling to find a way past racism and prejudice so that we can unite for our own survival?"

Suppose we all wrote letters like that and sent them to Dolly Parton, c/o RCA Records, RCA Corporation, NYC, NY. Maybe it's our fault that Dolly Parton, who sings such beautiful songs with true feelings in her voice, has only the big money promoters and producers to listen to about what songs we want to hear. She seems like an honest person with an independent mind. Let's give her a chance to sing on our side.

Jesse Green
Chicago, Illinois

COMMUNITY FORUMS

The ISC Community Forums, held each Saturday morning at 10:30 at 4520 N. Beacon, are more than ever serving their purpose of bringing the community together to analyze problems and develop community solutions. The highly successful Fred Hampton/Mark Clark Hard Times Christmas Survival Program was organized from the weekly forums last month and proved that when it comes to solving community problems, the people are the real heroes.

Another significant discussion took place last month concerning the practice of police spying and infiltration of community organizations. After hearing a report on the outrageous activities of the Chicago police uncovered by a recent Grand Jury investigation in overt attempts to illegally destroy groups which opposed the Daley machine, the forum discussed the need for serious unity to combat these tactics.

In January, the forums will concentrate on preparing and following up on the important city-wide tenants conference to be held on January 17th at Malcolm X College.□

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